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ABSTRACT

This eight-lesson unit introduces students to developments in Tokugawa, Japan, from 1630-1867. Students explore art, literature, and other primary sources to compile a picture of the stable, hierarchical society that the Tokugawa rulers sought to establish and maintain; students then draw on these sources to analyze social, economic, and cultural changes that contributed to the ultimate downfall of Tokugawa rule. Lesson 1, "Neo-Confucianism: The Social Philosophy of Tokugawa Japan," focuses on Confucianism as the political and social philosophy that guided and supported Tokugawa rulers in attaining their goals of peace and social stability. Lesson 2, "Social Class in Tokugawa Society," provides students with primary source documents to analyze Tokugawa laws designed to keep all social classes in their place. Lesson 3, "Social Change and the Development of Urban Culture," introduces the economic changes and urbanization that led to a drastically changing class structure in Tokugawa, Japan. Lesson 4, "Tokugawa Art: An Inquiry Lesson," allows students to compare and contrast the style, subjects, and goals of a "high culture" artist with a chronicler of urban mass culture. Lesson 5, "Hoitsu: A Samurai Artist," continues the exploration of art as a reflection of government-defined class structure and social hierarchy. Lesson 6, "Hokusai: An Artist of the People," offers a case study of an artist of popular culture. Lesson 7, "Haikai: Poetry and Social Change in Tokugawa Japan," looks at trends in poetry during the Tokugawa period and the transformation of "high culture" poetry to popular poetry. Lesson 8, "A Samurai in Late Tokugawa Japan," explores social economic and cultural changes of the period through the autobiography of a samurai living in the final years of the Tokugawa rule. (EH)

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Tokugawa Japan

The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Society

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A Humanities Approach to Japanese History, Part I

Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado

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Tokugawa Japan: The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Society

A Humanities Approach to Japanese History, Part I

by
Lynn Parisi, Sara Thompson, and Patterson Williams

Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado
1995

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ORDERING INFORMATION

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Meiji Japan: The Dynamics of National Change (Part II)
Imperial Japan: Expansion and War (Part III)

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Introduction to the Unit

A Humanities Approach to Japanese History

The study of other countries and their histories may be greatly enriched by a humanities approach which draws on the fields of literature, history, and art. The humanities reveal the values and beliefs that underlie social, political, and economic institutions. They provide a lens for looking at another culture in a way that develops multi-layered understandings. As Betty Bullard and Loretta Ryan have written:

> A people's values are expressed through many channels. In their literature—their novels, poems, plays, and essays—they portray life as they have come to experience it. Their fine arts—their drawings, paintings, and sculpture—tell us how a people actually *see* the world. Their music reveals what sounds their ears find most pleasing or most interesting; their architecture—their sense of form in space. And their written alphabet is an important clue to the depth and nature of their contacts with other peoples and cultures.[1]

In a speech to the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities in 1991, Harold M. Williams spoke of the link between the humanities and the development of historical and global perspectives essential to 21st-century citizenship:

> The arts define what we mean by civilization. They are part of the foundation and framework of our culture. As a universal language through which we can express our common aspirations, the arts are a channel to understanding and appreciating other cultures. . . .
>
> Art history opens the child's imagination to other eras and cultures. If students of the next century are to work and live productively side by side with others from different cultures, they must respect and appreciate cultural differences and, at the same time, discern what they share in common with other people.[2]

Students with knowledge of a culture developed through the study of humanities not only will be better able to communicate with people from that culture but will better comprehend the institutions within which they live and work.

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[1] Betty Bullard and Loretta Ryan, "Introduction: Global Perspectives Through Asian Experiences," *Intercom 89*, 1978, p. 2.

[2] Harold M. Williams, "The Language of Civilization: The Vital Role of Arts in Education." Remarks presented at the Plenary Meeting XXIV of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, October 1991, New York City.

Between 1992 and 1994, the Social Science Education Consortium received funding from the U.S. Department of Education to develop a multi-unit curriculum designed to assist teachers in integrating a humanities approach into the teaching of Japanese history. This project, *A Humanities Approach to Japanese History*, was conducted in cooperation with the Denver Art Museum and consultants from national and regional Japan studies projects. The project resulted in the publication of three supplementary curriculum units suitable for use in high school and community college courses. The units are: *Tokugawa Japan: The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Society*; *Meiji Japan: The Dynamics of National Change*; and *Imperial Japan: Expansion and War*.

Introduction to the Tokugawa Japan Unit

What does it mean to be Japanese? How have Japanese people perceived and defined themselves and their nation through significant periods in modern history? These questions set the stage for a humanities approach to the study of Japanese history and provide the organizing theme for this unit and the three-part curriculum program.

The Tokugawa period is significant to an understanding of contemporary Japan for several reasons. Two and a half centuries of peace and relative isolation from outside influence provided the conditions for domestic development and change. It was during this period that much of the philosophical foundation, norms, and attitudes regarding Japanese social structure and social relationships were molded. While not yet steeped in a sense of nationhood, the Japanese of the period developed class identities and a sense of place within a social and economic whole.

This period also witnessed important changes in economic structure—specifically, the rise of a market-driven economy—which created the preconditions for the rapid economic growth which would take place in the late 1800s under the Meiji emperor. This commerce-based economic development precipitated significant changes in the social and economic power base and a shift in population from rural areas to urban centers. For all these reasons, the Tokugawa period was a critical one in which the Japanese began to create a national social identity as they laid the social and economic foundations for the nation's modernization.

This eight-lesson unit introduces students to these developments in Tokugawa Japan. Students explore art, literature, and other primary sources to compile a picture of the stable, hierarchical society that the Tokugawa rulers sought to establish and maintain; students then draw on these sources to analyze social, economic, and cultural changes that contributed to the ultimate downfall of Tokugawa rule.

Lesson 1 focuses on Confucianism as the political and social philosophy that guided and supported the Tokugawa rulers in attaining their goals of peace and social stability. In Lesson 2, students read primary source documents to analyze Tokugawa laws designed to keep all social classes in their place. This lesson also provides a case study of art as a reflection of social class and government goals in Tokugawa Japan. Lesson 3 introduces the economic changes and urbanization that led to a drastically changing class structure in Tokugawa Japan. Students read short stories of urban merchant life and analyze the characteristics of the urban culture enjoyed by many wealthy merchants and townspeople.

Lessons 4 through 6 focus on art as a reflection of social class and values. In Lesson 4, students have the opportunity to compare and contrast the style, subjects, and goals of a "high culture" artist with a chronicler of urban mass culture. Lesson 5 continues the exploration of art as a reflection of government-defined class structure and social hierarchy. Students explore the work of Hoitsu, an artist who produced work for the ruling classes. Lesson 6, a companion to Lesson 5, offers a case study of an artist of popular culture, Hokusai. Lesson 7 looks at trends in poetry during the Tokugawa period, and the transformation of "high culture" poetry to popular poetry during this period. In the final lesson in this unit, students explore social, economic, and cultural changes of the period through the autobiography of a samurai living in the final years of the Tokugawa rule.

Unit Goals

The three curriculum units in *A Humanities Approach to Japanese History* address the following common instructional goals.

Students will be able to:

- recognize and analyze art and literature as reflections of fundamental cultural values, belief systems, and social goals;
- appreciate the ways that a nation's art and literature reflect and respond to events and issues in that nation's political and social development;
- discuss the relationships and interaction among various parts of Japan's cultural life; and
- develop attitudes and skills that support multiple perspective-taking—the ability and willingness to consider issues from the viewpoints of different cultures and groups.

In addition to these shared goals, this unit—*Tokugawa Japan: The Great Peace and the Development of Urban Culture*—addresses several specific instructional objectives. Through the completion of all or parts of this unit, students will be able to:

- describe and discuss the form of centralized feudalism existing in Japan during the Tokugawa period;
- recognize and analyze Confucianism as a philosophy contributing to the social and political order and stability of Tokugawa society;

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- explain the relationship between the Tokugawa shogunate's long period of political stability and the economic, social and cultural changes of the period;
- identify and describe the social classes that made up Tokugawa society;
- analyze the causes, characteristics, and repercussions of the changing social and economic structure in Tokugawa Japan;
- demonstrate an appreciation for several Japanese art forms;
- recognize the role of art and literature in reflecting and recording ways of life and social change in Tokugawa Japan; and
- define and discuss what it meant to be Japanese during the Tokugawa period.

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Teacher Notes

Introductory essay. The unit begins with a short essay providing an overview of significant events and trends of the period. This essay is designed to provide the teacher with essential background information before beginning the unit; it may also be assigned as an introductory reading for students.

Lesson format. The eight lessons in this unit follow a standard format. Each lesson provides a brief introduction, followed by a statement of learning objectives, a list of necessary materials, an approximate guide to class time required, a procedure section for teachers, and additional resources. Background readings, slide scripts, and answer keys for student activities are provided for each lesson following the procedure section. Student handouts conclude each lesson.

Grade level/subject area. This unit is designed for social studies, world history, Asian studies, or humanities courses at grades 10-12; it may be used effectively in introductory courses in community colleges as well.

Handouts and slides. Handouts and slides are identified by a lesson number and letter. For example, Handout 1A is the first handout in Lesson 1; Handout 4C is the third handout in Lesson 4.

Answer keys/student responses. In the procedure section of each lesson, possible student responses to discussion questions are written in italics. On handout answer keys, student responses are also in italics.

Japanese names. Following the Japanese practice, we have listed Japanese names in the text with the family name first, followed by given name. This is the reverse of the U.S. practice of given name first, followed by family name, e.g., ONO Yoko vs. John LENNON. However, in the case of citations and references to works published in English by Japanese authors, the author is cited in the order used by the publisher, which is generally English name order.

Japanese terms. In this unit, Japanese terms are italicized only the first time they appear in teacher materials and the first time they appear in student handouts, except in those instances when a term appears italicized within quotations, book excerpts, or book titles.

Plurals. In this unit, Japanese nouns are written the same in singular or plural form, as in Japanese grammar. For example, the term *samurai* may refer to one person or several. Meaning is evident from the verb and the context. Thus, "samurai were the warrior class in feudal Japan."

Chinese terms. Two systems of transliteration are used for Chinese words. The older is called Wade-Giles, after its two originators. The newer system, developed in the mid-20th century by the People's Republic of China for international use, is called *pinyin*.

In this unit, Chinese terms are written in *pinyin* transliteration with the following exceptions. The *Analects of Confucius* are excerpted from the 1938 translation by Arthur Waley, which is considered to be the academic standard. Waley used the Wade-Giles system of transliteration. The names of Chinese Nationalist Party figures, including Chiang Kai-shek, are written in the transliteration used by the Republic of China on Taiwan.

Pagination. Handouts show the handout page number at top left, the unit page at center bottom.

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Pronunciation Guide for Japanese Terms

Vowels

There are five vowel sounds in Japanese—a, i, u, e, o—which are pronounced as follows:

a	as in aloud
i	as a long e, as in bee
u	as in rude
e	as in pet
o	as in old

Long marks, or macrons, over vowels indicate that the sound should be held for twice its normal duration. Within the text of this unit, we have included macrons for all necessary Japanese names and places, with the exception of place names or terms that are very familiar to the American reader such as Tokyo (Tōkyō), Kyoto (Kyōto), Osaka (Ōsaka), Hokkaido (Hokkaidō), and Shinto (Shintō).

Consonants

Consonants generally have the same sounds as in English. The letter "g" is always a hard sound, as in "good."

Intonation

Japanese words are pronounced with equal emphasis on each syllable.

Japanese Names, Places, Terms Used in This Unit	**Pronunciation**
aitai	eye-tye
Aizu	Ah-ee-zoo
Aki no yūgure	Ah-key no you-goo-ray
Ariwara no Narihara	Ah-ree-wah-rah no Nah-ree-hah-rah
Asakusa	Ah-sah-koo-sah
Azabu	Ah-zah-boo
Bakufu	Bah-koo-foo
Bashō	Bah-show

Bizen	Bee-zen
bu	boo
Bunraku	Boon-rah-koo
Byōbu-e	Byoh-boo-eh
chōnin	choh-neen
Chōshu	Choh-shoe
daimyō	dime-yoh
Deshima	Day-she-mah
Edo	Eh-doh
Fukugawa	Foo-koo-gah-wah
Fukuhime	Foo-koo-hee-may
Funa	Foo-nah
Fushimiya	Foo-shee-mee-yah
Fushimiya Shirobei	Foo-shee-mee-ya Shee-row-bay
fusuma	foo-sue-mah
geisha	gay-shah
geta	get-ah
Gion	Gee-own
giri	gee-ree
Gōsetsu	Go-say-tsoo
haikai	high-kye
haiku	high-koo
Hashiba	Hah-shee-bah
Hayashi Razan	Hah-yah-shee Rah-zahn
Heian	Hey-yahn
Heizō	Hay-zoh
Hida	Hee-dah
Higuchi	Hee-goo-chee
Hikoshirō	Hee-koh-shee-roh
Himeji	Hee-may-jee
Hiroaki Satō	Hero-ah-key Sah-toe
Hiroshige	Hee-row-shee-gay
Hoitsu Sakai	Ho-eetsu Sah-kye
Hoki Minokichi	Hoh-key Mee-noh-kee-chee
Hokusai Katsushika	Ho-k’sigh Kah-tsu-shee-kah
Honda	Hohn-dah
Honjō	Hohn-joe
Honmachi	Hohn-mah-chee
Honshū	Hohn-shoe
Horiuchi	Hoh-ree-ooh-chee
Hyakunin Isshu	Hyah-koo-neen Ee-shoe
Ichibei-chō	Ee-chee-bay-choh
Ichikawa Danjūrō	Ee-chee-kah-wah Don-jew-row
Ichikawa Ebizo	Ee-chee-kah-wah Eh-bee-zoh

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Iguchi	Ee-goo-chee
Ihara Saikaku	Ee-hah-rah Sigh-kah-koo
Inoue Denbei	Ee-no-ooh-ay Den-bay
Ishikawa Rokubei	Ee-shee-kah-wah Row-koo-bay
Ishiuchi	Ee-shee-ooh-chee
Isoda	Ee-sow-dah
Itō Gonnosuke	Ee-toe Go-no-sue-kay
Iwase Ken'uemon	Ee-wah-say Ken-ooh-eh-moan

Jimbei	Jim-bay
kabuki	kah-boo-key
Kaibara Eken	Kye-ee-bah-rah Eh-ken
Kamakura	Kah-mah-koo-rah
Kamezawa-chō	Kah-may-zah-wah-choh
Kamme	Kahm-may
kamon	kah-mohn
Kanagawa	Kah-nah-gah-wah
kanda	kahn-dah
Kanei	Kah-nay
Kanetsugu Naoe	Kah-neh-tsoo-goo Nah-oh-eh
Kaomise	Kah-oh-mee-say
Kashiwagi	Kah-shee-wah-gee
Katsu Kokichi	Kah-tsoo Koh-key-chee
Katsukawa Shunshō	Kah-tsoo-kah-wah Shoe-n-show
Kawamura	Kah-wah-moo-rah
kimono	key-moh-noh
Ki no Tomonori	Key noh Toh-moh-noh-ree
koban	koh-bahn
Kobayashi	Koh-bah-yah-shee
Kobiki-chō	Koh-bee-key-choh
Kobushingumi	Koh-boo-sheen-goo-mee
Kohada Kohēji	Koh-hah-dah Koh-hey-jee
Koishikawa	Koh-ee-shee-kah-wah
koku	koh-koo
Korin	Koh-reen
Kurata	Koo-rah-tah
Kyōto	Kyoh-toe
Kyūshū	Cue-shoe

Matabei	Mah-tah-bay
Matsudaira Hōki-no-kama	Mah-tsoo-dye-ra Hoh-key-no-kah-mah
Matsudaira Naiki	Mah-tsoo-dah-ee-rah Nah-ee-key
Matsuura Kanji	Mah-tsoo-ooh-rah Kahn-jee
Meiji	May-jee
mochi	moh-chee

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Morinoshita	Moe-ree-no-shee-tah
Musashi	Moo-sah-shee
Musui	Moo-sue-ee
Mutsuhito	Moo-tsoo-hee-toe
Myōken	Myoh-ken
Nagai Gouemon	Nah-guy Go-ooh-eh-moan
Nagasaka San'uemon	Nah-gah-sah-kah Sahn-ooh-ey-moan
Nagasaki	Nah-gah-sah-key
Nakamura-za	Nah-kah-moo-rah-zah
Nihon	Nee-hohn
Nishi Honganji	Nee-shee Hohn-gahn-jee
noh	no
Obune-chō	Oh-boo-nay-choh
Oda Nobunaga	Oh-dah Noh-boo-nah-gah
Ogata Korin	Oh-gah-tah Koh-reen
Okano Magoichirō	Oh-kah-no Mah-go-ee-chee-row
Okumura Masanobu	Oh-koo-moo-rah Mah-sah-noh-boo
Ongyokumachi	Own-gyoh-koo-mah-chee
Osaka	Oh-sah-kah
ōtai	oh-tye
Otani	Oh-tah-nee
renga	ren-gah
ryō	ryoh
Sado	Sah-doe
Sagami	Sa-gah-mee
sake	sah-kay
sakura	sah-koo-rah
samurai	sah-moo-rye
Sano Gunzaemon	Sah-no Goon-zah-eh-moan
Sanotsuchiya	Sah-no-tsoo-chee-yah
Saruwaka-chō	Sah-roo-wah-kah-chōh
Satsuma	Sah-tsooh-mah
Sennosuke	Sen-no-sue-kay
Setomono-chō	Seh-toe-mow-noh-choh
Shiba	Shee-bah
shikishi	shee-key-shee
Shimoda	Shee-mow-dah
Shinano	Shee-nah-no
Shintarō	Sheen-tah-row
Shinto	Sheen-toe
Shitaya	Shee-tah-yah
shodō	show-doe
shōgun	show-goon
Suda	Sue-dah

suda-chō	sue-dah-choh
Sugawara no Michizane	Sue-ga-wah-rah no Mee-chee-zah-nay
sujikai	sue-jee-kye
Sukekane	Sue-kay-kah-nay
sumō	sue-mow
suragachō	sue-rah-gah-choh
Suzuki Shinjirō	Sue-zoo-key Sheen-jee-row
tabi	tah-bee
Takagi Hikoemon	Tah-kah-gee Hee-koh-eh-mohn
Tama	Tah-mah
Tarashikomi	Tah-rah-shee-koh-mee
Tatsuta	Tah-tsoo-tah
Temma	Tehm-mah
Tokugawa	Toe-koo-gah-wah
Tokugawa Ieyasu	Toe-koo-gah-wah Ee-ay-yah-sue
Tōkyō	Toe-kyoh
Tora	Toe-rah
Toranosuke	Toh-rah-no-sue-kay
tori	tory
Tōri-chō	Tory-choh
Torii Kiyonaga	Tory Key-oh-nah-gah
Toshino	Toe-shee-noh
Tōshō	Toe-show
Toyotomi Hideyoshi	Toe-yoh-toe-mee Hee-day-yoh-shee
Tsukiji	Ts'key-jee
Tsunayoshi	Tsoo-nah-yoh-shee
Ubaga Etoki	Ooh-bah-gah Eh-toe-key
Ukiyo-e	Ooh-key-yoh-ay
Ueno	Ooh-ay-noh
waka	wah-kah
washi	wah-shee
Yamaga Soko	Yah-mah-gah Sow-ko
Yamaguchi	Yah-mah-goo-chee
Yanagishima	Yah-nah-gee-shee-mah
Yanone Gorō	Yah-noh-neh Goh-row
Yorigumi	Yoh-ree-goo-mee
Yoshiwara	Yoh-shee-wah-rah
Yushima	You-shee-mah
zeni	zeh-nee

Glossary

The following words appear in lessons throughout the Tokugawa Japan curriculum unit. In most cases, terms of Japanese origin are also defined within the context of specific lessons.

Bakufu: Japanese term translated as shogunate or government of the shōgun.

Bunraku: a genre of theater popularized by the wealthy urban class in Tokugawa Japan. Bunraku, still performed today, uses intricate puppets to depict tales of love, honor, and duty.

Byōbu: folding screen, literally, "screen against the wind."

Byōbu-e: the art of the free-standing, folding-screen.

Calligraphy: Japanese brush writing, considered an art form.

Chōnin: townspeople in Tokugawa Japan.

Confucianism: a social and political philosophy developed by Confucius in China around the 5th century B.C. Confucianism emphasizes respect for authority, social hierarchy, and preservation of the social and political status quo. Confucianism was exported to Japan around the 5th century A.D. In the 1600s, the Tokugawa government adapted and adopted Confucianism as a philosophy and mechanism to reinforce social class structure and political stability.

Daimyō: a term applied to the largest of the landholding military lords in premodern Japan.

Edo: the historical name for Tokyo, used until the end of the Tokugawa period (1867).

Giri: a sense of obligation and duty linking one person or group to another.

Go: A Japanese board game somewhat similar to chess.

Great Peace: term used to characterize the Tokugawa period, 1603-1867, when Japan enjoyed a prolonged period of domestic peace.

Haikai: a form of linked-verse poetry which developed during the Tokugawa period.

Haiku: a genre of poetry with roots in Japan's oldest poetic traditions. These short, 17-syllable poems often focus on the seasons, nature, and love.

Kabuki: a genre of theater popularized by the urban masses in Tokugawa Japan. Kabuki, still practiced today, depicted tales of love, honor, and duty.

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Kamon: family crest, worn only by daimyō and samurai—the upper classes—in Tokugawa society.

Koku: a measurement unit for ship capacity equaling 10 cubic feet; also a measurement unit for rice equaling 5.12 U.S. bushels. In rice measurement, a koku was supposed to be enough rice to feed one person for one year.

Mochi: traditional Japanese rice balls, often used in Shinto ceremonies and on holidays.

Noh: a form of musical dance-drama dating from the 14th century and reflecting a Buddhist view of existence.

Palanquin: traditional mode of transportation consisting of a decorated compartment carried on one or two poles by two or four servants.

Renga: traditional linked-verse poetry, written by group process, developed in the 12th century.

Sake: rice wine. Sake is a symbolic drink in the Shinto religion and is often used on ceremonial and sacred occasions.

Samurai: in feudal times, Japanese warriors; in Tokugawa Japan, samurai and their families were legitimized as a hereditary, privileged social class. During the Tokugawa period, samurai made the transition from warriors to government bureaucrats.

Shodō: the "way of the brush," artistic Japanese brush writing or calligraphy.

Shōgun: military leaders of Japan between 1192 and 1867. In 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu unified Japan, established himself as shōgun, and established his family as hereditary rulers of Japan.

Shogunate: an English translation of bakufu, the government of the shōgun.

Sumptuary laws: laws forbidding or restricting certain types of clothing and other expressions of position or wealth. These laws were widely used by the Tokugawa government to maintain class structure and social hierarchy.

Tarashikomi: a water-color method in which the artist puts paint on a section of paper that is already wet from earlier paint. In this technique, the artist tilts the work so that colors run into each other.

Ukiyo: translated as "the floating world." This term was used in Tokugawa Japan to describe the social world of leisure in urban Japan, including theater, the visual arts, and other entertainment. Either derived from it, or some scholars say simply connected to it, was an idea about the brief, fleeting nature of life and a "live for the moment" attitude.

Ukiyo-e: translated as "pictures of the floating world." This term described the visual art of the urban classes of Tokugawa Japan, depicting entertainment and leisure.

Unequal treaties: the term applied to Japan's first treaties with Western nations in the late 1800s. These treaties were so named because they guaranteed numerous diplomatic and trade concessions to the foreign nations, with no reciprocal privileges for Japan.

Waka: a traditional, elegant form of poetry consisting of 31 syllables in five lines. Waka preceded such poetic forms as haiku and renga. Waka was generally a form of court poetry written by the aristocratic elite.

Introductory Essay
The Tokugawa Period in Japanese History, 1603-1867

Background to the Tokugawa Period: The Three Unifiers

In Japan, the 15th and 16th centuries were years of continual warfare among rival feudal domains. However, by the late 1500s, three powerful warlords were making significant strides in unifying and controlling Japan. In the 1570s and 1580s, Oda Nobunaga was able to unify much of Japan by defeating rival lords and establishing strategic political alliances. Nobunaga* was succeeded by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who completed the unification process by 1590 and began to stabilize the social order. With Hideyoshi's* death, a power struggle ensued in which Tokugawa Ieyasu defeated rival lords to gain control of the country. In addition to his military skill, Ieyasu* was shrewd enough to alter his family tree so that he could trace his heritage back to the founding clan of Japan; this laid the foundation for establishing the Tokugawa clan as hereditary rulers, or *shōgun*, in 1603. Ieyasu set up his government and the national capital in Edo, his family's base of power.

The Period of Great Peace

The hereditary Tokugawa rule, or shogunate, lasted for more than 250 years and was characterized as the Period of Great Peace. Two and a half centuries of peace and relative isolation from foreign influence provided the conditions for domestic development and change. This period is significant to an understanding of contemporary Japan for several reasons. It was during this period that much of the philosophical foundation, norms, and attitudes regarding Japanese social structure and social relationships were molded. While not yet steeped in a sense of nationhood, the Japanese of the period were developing class identities and a sense of place within a social and economic whole.

This period also witnessed important changes in economic structure—specifically, the rise of a market-driven economy—which created the preconditions for the rapid growth that would take place in the late 1800s under the Meiji emperor. This commerce-based economic development precipitated significant changes in the social and economic power base and a shift in population from rural areas to urban centers. For all these reasons, the Tokugawa period was a critical one in which the Japanese began to create a national social identity as they laid the social and economic foundations for the nation's modernization.

Tokugawa Political Controls

Throughout the Tokugawa period, a hereditary emperor, lacking any significant

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*As per Japanese custom, these three leaders are referred to by their given rather than family names.

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power, continued to live in the traditional imperial capital of Kyoto. However, Japan's real center of power throughout the period was the shōgun. The goal of the first Tokugawa shōgun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and subsequent Tokugawa shōgun was to insure peace, maintain the social and political order and, by so doing, assure the continued rule of the Tokugawa family over a unified Japan.

One of the first tasks of the new ruling house was to secure authority over—and loyalty from—powerful *daimyō*, the regional military lords who controlled large domains. Prior to the Tokugawa unification of Japan, daimyō had been autonomous regional barons. Under Tokugawa unification, a strong central government replaced the autonomy of hundreds of regional daimyō. Although they essentially maintained authority in their own domains, daimyō were forced into subservient vassal positions to the Tokugawa family and its central government in Edo.

The Tokugawa government identified three descending ranks of daimyō, based on degree of affiliation to the Tokugawa family. The highest category of daimyō were those that were related to the Tokugawa clan. Next were daimyō who had been vassals of the Tokugawa clan prior to its final struggle for power at the turn of the 16th century. Members of the third rank were called "outside daimyō"—those that had joined the Tokugawa faction late in the war for national leadership.

To insure the loyalty of daimyō to the shōgun and to dissuade daimyō from banding together to contest Tokugawa rule or initiate warfare, the Tokugawa shogunate devised a complex system of domestic controls. All daimyō were required to take a loyalty oath to the Tokugawa government. This oath was renewed with each succeeding shōgun. The shōgun could, at will, reassign daimyō to different landholdings or confiscate a daimyō's land altogether. Thus, a daimyō was always dependent on the good will of the shōgun for his continued landholding. Moreover, no daimyō could marry without the consent of the shōgun. The shōgun further guaranteed the control of the Tokugawa line by linking the most powerful daimyō to the Tokugawa family by marriage.

The Tokugawa government also instituted a system of alternate attendance whereby every daimyō had to rotate residence between his home domain and the government capital in Edo. In this system, a typical daimyō spent every other year in Edo in the service of the shōgun; hereditary vassals spent six months out of each year in Edo. In the periods when they were not required to serve the shōgun in Edo, the daimyō were required to leave vassals and some members of their family in the capital city. This system cemented the shōgun's control on several levels. On one level, even a hostile daimyō would be discouraged from rebelling when members of his family were virtual hostages to the government in Edo. Moreover, having to spend significant periods away from their own domains meant that the daimyō could not effectively build their own bases of power. Finally, the expense of maintaining households, servants, and retainers in two locations significantly drained the finances of the daimyō, further undermining their ability to challenge shogunal power.

Additional measures were taken to weaken the rebellion potential among daimyō. Upon first gaining power, Tokugawa Ieyasu conducted sword hunts to confiscate swords from the masses of *samurai*, the traditional warrior class. Moreover, the shōgun rotated military assignments so that no strong ties could develop between commanders and their men.

The Tokugawa Social Structure

One of the primary means by which the Tokugawa government sought to secure peace, order, and the clan's continuing rule was the construction of a strict social hierarchy. The Tokugawa shogunate—or *bakufu*, as the government was called—utilized a variation of Confucianism called neo-Confucianism as a philosophy to justify its political and social structure. Confucianism originally made its way from China to Japan in the 4th century A.D. Many centuries later, the Tokugawa rulers saw in Confucianism a useful political philosophy. Confucianism emphasized stability and order, achieved through a strict social hierarchy in which everyone knew his or her place. Confucianism was also a force against change: Confucian models and ideals were found in the past, in the ways of ancestors. Such values suited the Tokugawa rulers, who wished to preserve the status quo. Confucianism also emphasized loyalty—within nations, to rulers, and within families, to fathers. Again, such Confucian beliefs were ideally suited to Tokugawa goals of unifying the nation behind a single leader.

The social class system formalized by the Tokugawa rulers embodied Confucian values and the realities of an agrarian society. Samurai had the highest status in the Tokugawa system because they, as a fighting force, had been partially responsible for the Tokugawa clan's military victories and ultimate rise to power. Constituting about seven percent of the total population, samurai continued to be an important element in defense and administration in the Tokugawa government. The class with the next highest status was farmers, who had the highly valued responsibility of producing food. Farmers constituted about 80 percent of the population. Below farmers were artisans, also valued because they produced needed goods. The group with the lowest status was the merchants. Their status was a Confucian reflection of the non-productive nature of their work. Merchants were perceived and disdained as a class which produced no goods but lived off the sale of other people's labor. In keeping with Confucian concepts, all classes in Tokugawa society were hereditary and inflexible.

A web of laws supported this official social structure, outlined the responsibilities of and prohibitions against each class, and sought to insure that every person knew and remained in his or her place. These laws were designed to keep the status and respect for samurai high. For example, only samurai could wear long swords, wear certain colors of clothing, or display family crests on their clothing. Samurai could not marry outside their own class.

Control of Outside Influences

As another measure to insure control, the Tokugawa shogunate closed Japan to most sources of foreign influence. Christianity was perceived as a particularly powerful foreign threat because it required believers to promise their allegiance to a source other than the shōgun. Consequently, the government outlawed Christianity in 1614, although the religion continued in practice.

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A Christian uprising in 1639 made it clear to the Tokugawa shōgun that foreign threats required more drastic responses. Beginning that year, the Tokugawa government enforced measures which came to be known as the policy of National Seclusion. Elements of the policy included expulsion of Catholic missionaries and traders, prohibition of Christianity, and prohibition of foreign travel by Japanese. Of the numerous European nations that had carried on limited trade with Japan, only the Dutch, who had never tried to convert Japanese people to Christianity, were allowed to maintain contact. The Dutch were granted the privilege of a small and tightly controlled outpost at Deshima, a tiny man-made island in Nagasaki harbor.

Despite these measures, there continued to be a good deal of interest in foreign cultures. Through the Dutch outpost at Deshima, Japan continued to be influenced, although in a limited fashion, by European medicine, art, and writing.

Social and Economic Change

Until recently, the Great Peace of the Tokugawa period had been equated with social and economic stagnation, particularly by Western historians. However, most historians now recognize that Japan's 250 years of peace and limited contact with the West created a breeding ground for national development, prosperity, and significant economic, social, and cultural change. The changes that took place in Japan's social and economic systems during this period created the preconditions and attitudes necessary to support the dramatic changes of the Meiji period which began in 1868.

By the 1700s—the middle of the Tokugawa period—the reality of Japan's social and economic structure had become the inverse of the official Tokugawa design. The Great Peace enabled the country to turn from the time- and resource-consuming activity of warfare to agricultural production and domestic trade. Agricultural production soared. Peace and national unification made trade possible throughout the country. A national economy superseded regional and local economies. While political power officially lay with large landholders in the countryside, economic and cultural energy came to be concentrated in newly developing towns and cities.

Towns grew up around daimyō castles, where demand for goods and services was strongest. The shōgun's system of alternate attendance, whereby daimyō were required to serve the shōgun at the capital in Edo, and the hostage system, whereby daimyō were required to leave family members and vassals in Edo, also encouraged the development of roads, commerce, and urban centers. By the 1700s, Edo had grown into a large capital city of about one million people. Other locations along the main route from the countryside to Edo, such as Kyoto and Osaka, also grew into sizeable cities. These towns and cities were alive with hustle and bustle and the exchange of money and goods.

The prolonged period of peace also precipitated significant change in the responsibilities of the samurai class. The samurai class was subdivided into seven ranks. Because war, the main occupation of samurai, was not an issue during the Tokugawa period, there was initially no clear function for the samurai in Tokugawa society. The highest-ranking samurai were able to obtain positions as retainers with daimyō. But there were far more samurai than there were military positions in a peacetime society. To address this, the government facilitated the transformation of higher-ranking samurai from warriors to government bureaucrats and scholars. Many samurai made this transition and became government officials, responsible for collecting taxes, keeping records, enforcing laws, and so on. Daimyō maintained schools for samurai children, where they were taught the Confucian classics and prepared for a life of government service. However, because there were not enough positions in the military and government to employ all samurai, lower-ranking members of this class were displaced. They became increasingly frustrated and dissatisfied by the dubious honor of high official status combined with unemployment and poverty. Many low-ranking samurai moved to the cities where they became a rowdy element.

In contrast to the plight of the samurai, agricultural productivity and expanding commerce contributed to the prosperity of the two classes of urban dwellers, merchants and artisans. These two groups found themselves in the contradictory position of having substantial wealth but no status or influence in the official Tokugawa hierarchy. The shōgun passed laws to prohibit these increasingly prosperous elements from displaying their wealth through luxurious lifestyles. In reality, however, it became more and more difficult for the Tokugawa government to restrain them. Because merchants, the most affluent group, had no officially approved outlet in politics, their outlet became art, culture, and entertainment. New forms of fashion, theater, literature, and arts grew up to meet their interests and reflect their ways of life.

Urban Culture

A vibrant urban culture grew up around merchant tastes, which tended to be flamboyant, hedonistic, and unbridled by the moral codes of Confucianism. Within this new urban culture, *ukiyo*, or the "floating world," was a term used to describe the social world which centered in the entertainment quarters of cities. The term "floating world" evoked the character of this cultural milieu: wealth, self-indulgence, the fleeting nature of life, and the need to live for the moment.

Ukiyo culture presented a marked contrast to the high culture of classical painting, poetry, and drama patronized by the ruling elite. Among its art forms were *kabuki* and *bunraku* theater, both of which featured ostentatious costuming and stories of love, duty, and loss. Another prominent art form was woodblock printing. Woodblock prints could be produced in large quantities at low cost. As such, they were the ideal art form of a mass, popular culture. The prints were used as illustrations in inexpensive books and magazines marketed to general audiences. Woodblock prints took as their subjects distinctly urban or mass-appeal topics. One genre of woodblock prints—*ukiyo-e*, or "pictures of the floating world"—portrayed the lives of courtesans and kabuki actors and depicted life in the pleasure quarters and entertainment districts of the big cities. Other woodblock prints focused on landscapes. Like kabuki and bunraku theater, woodblock prints conveyed the vibrance of urban culture through their use of bright, unrestrained color and contemporary, somewhat

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taboo subjects. The style and subject matter of these art forms—so different from the classical style and subject matter of the arts of the upper classes—reflected the merchants' rejection of the status quo and Tokugawa laws and restrictions.

Cracks in the Tokugawa Structure

By the late 1700s, the Tokugawa government, which had kept the nation at peace for almost 200 years, was beginning to weaken. The government treasury had been depleted in 1787 through a combination of events including floods, inflation, and food shortages. The shōgun introduced a series of measures to try to counteract the slide and reduce corruption and waste in the government. He reduced government expenditures and instituted price controls. To encourage frugality among the population, the shōgun renewed sumptuary laws prohibiting extravagant dress; he censored books and attempted to curb prostitution. Peasants, who had been leaving the countryside for better lives in the urban areas, were encouraged to return to farming. Despite these measures, the government's problems continued to grow. Deeply in debt, the government was forced to call upon wealthy merchants for financial contributions, a measure which put the ruling class in a position of dependence upon the lowly merchant class. To reverse its financial problems, the shogunate also turned to heavier taxes on the farmers, which led, in turn, to growing peasant unrest. These events seriously strained the political and social order of Tokugawa Japan. A combination of factors—disaffected, disgruntled samurai and farmers; ruling classes increasingly indebted to the low-ranking but economically powerful merchant class; and a financially troubled national treasury—were undermining Tokugawa rule and setting the stage for dramatic social, economic, and political change.

The Challenge of the West

Increasing foreign pressure to open Japan to trade brought to a head the growing problems of the Tokugawa government. Russian ships began exploring Japanese waters in 1771, returning several times in the next two decades. In 1792, the Russian government requested but was denied commercial relations with Japan. British trading vessels arrived off the coast of Japan in 1818. The Tokugawa government responded by enacting stronger exclusionary measures. U.S. ships appeared in 1837 and again in 1842. But it was U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival with warships in 1853 that precipitated a crisis for the Tokugawa government. U.S. President Fillmore had sent Perry to Japan with a set of demands: Japan must open its ports to trade, allow whaling ships to use Japanese ports as supply bases, and provide aid to American sailors in distress. Perry would return in one year for Japan's response.

Already weakened by domestic disunity, the Tokugawa government was faced with a serious foreign military threat. Uncertain how to respond to this challenge, the shōgun took the unprecedented step of asking the advice of his vassals, the daimyō spread around the country. Many daimyō saw the shōgun's plea for help as a confession of weakness. When Perry returned in 1854 with an intimidating force of eight warships, the shōgun gave in to all of the U.S. demands. The Kanagawa Treaty, signed in March 1854, opened two ports to U.S. ships and allowed for an American consular agent to reside in Shimoda, south of Edo.

Similar treaties soon followed with England, France, and Russia, ending Japan's long period of seclusion. For the shogunate, the defeat was humiliating: The government had proven unable to stand up to the Western powers.

Two years later, the U.S. government sent Townsend Harris to Japan to seek more dramatic concessions to Western trade. The shōgun again sought advice from the daimyō and the Imperial Court, hoping for their support in meeting the American demands. In 1858, the Harris Treaty was signed; it served as a model for similar treaties with England, France, and Russia in the ensuing weeks. These "unequal treaties," as they came to be known by the Japanese, opened numerous ports to trade with the West, and subjected Japan's economy to international influence by allowing Japan's tariffs to be set by foreign powers. The treaties also granted the right of extraterritoriality to foreign residents in Japan, meaning that non-Japanese would be subject to their own national laws, not those of Japan. The unequal treaties infringed on Japanese sovereignty and became a rallying point for anti-shogunal forces within Japan.

Events Leading to the Meiji Restoration

Throughout this period, daimyō and samurai leaders in the domains disagreed over what course the Tokugawa government should take in dealing with the foreign threat. One faction, the conservatives, argued that the Japanese should revere the emperor and "expel the barbarians." The conservatives sought a return to the traditional, "purer" conditions of the early Tokugawa period—with the government enforcing the class structure, suppressing the merchant class, and limiting governmental extravagance. In contrast, many high-ranking samurai who had moved into positions as government bureaucrats saw irreparable weaknesses in the Tokugawa government and recognized the need for dramatic change, especially when confronted with the technologically superior forces of the West. This element also saw potential for themselves as leaders in a new governmental structure. These progressive samurai opposed the conservatives. They contended that a return to the past was unrealistic: A commercial economy had developed in Japan; the merchant class should be taxed; and all domains should become involved in commercial ventures to strengthen the nation's economy. A more radical element among this faction argued that Japan should open its doors to foreign trade as a source of wealth; they argued that Japan should import Western technology and science in order to strengthen the nation's industry and military and help it compete with foreign powers.

In the wake of the foreign relations crisis, two domains emerged as challengers to the Tokugawa government's authority: The Chōshu, from western Honshū, and the Satsuma, from southern Kyūshū. The two domains, originally rivals for national leadership, formed an alliance in 1866 to overthrow the government of the shōgun and restore political power to the emperor. Recognizing this threat, the shōgun sent forces to suppress the Chōshu troops. The Tokugawa forces were badly defeated, revealing the military weakness of the central government. When the shōgun resigned in November 1867 under pressure from the daimyō, armed forces of the Satsuma domain seized the imperial palace in Kyoto and announced the restoration of the emperor as head of the Japanese government, a symbolic role that held

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little actual authority.

In the spring of 1868, the 15-year-old Emperor Mutsuhito arrived in Edo to serve as the leader of a new Japanese government. The new emperor named his reign *Meiji*, "enlightened rule." Edo was renamed Tokyo, "eastern capital," in honor of the emperor's residence there. However, while the emperor was the titular head of the government, real power centered in the group of young samurai leaders, mostly from the Chōshu and Satsuma domains, who had engineered the new government. These young leaders embarked Japan on a course of rapid political, social, and economic change.

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Neo-Confucianism: The Social Philosophy of Tokugawa Japan

Introduction: Confucianism is a philosophy that made its way to Japan from China around the 5th century. A later adaptation of Confucianism—Neo-Confucianism—became a dominant mode of thought in the early Tokugawa period, around 1600. Neo-Confucianism reinforced many indigenous Japanese beliefs while offering a conceptual framework for the Tokugawa political order and control of society. In this activity, students analyze selected Confucian analects on family, society, and government to gain an understanding of the philosophy and goals of the Tokugawa government, which maintained peace in Japan from 1603 to 1867.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Describe some values and practices fundamental to Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism.

2. Explain how Neo-Confucian philosophy contributed to the Tokugawa government's system of social and political control.

3. Apply Confucian teachings to the solution of hypothetical dilemmas in Tokugawa society.

Materials: Handouts 1A and 1B

Time required: 1-2 class periods

Procedure:

1. To open the lesson, ask students what they know about Confucianism. Where did it start? What did Confucius teach? Students may know that Confucianism started in China. They will probably identify Confucianism as a religion.

2. Explain that while commonly identified as a religion, Confucianism may more accurately be described as a social philosophy. Through his stories, or analects, Confucius taught about rules of conduct which, if followed by families, society, and government, would contribute to a smoothly functioning world. In this activity, students consider how Confucian teachings were adopted and adapted by Japanese society, particularly by the Tokugawa government, and how these teachings were used by that government to mold an official value system and social structure.

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3. Distribute Handout 1A to all students and have students read Part A in class or as homework. Discuss the reading in class by reviewing the following points.

- What were the five social relationships defined by Confucius and how did they work? *The relationships were: child-father, wife-husband, friend-friend, subject-ruler, and younger brother-elder brother. In each of these relationships, there were reciprocal duties and obligations.*

- Why was Confucianism easily adopted by the Japanese people as a social philosophy and by the government as a political philosophy? How did Confucianism reinforce existing beliefs and government goals? *Confucianism fit well with Japanese values of reverence for nature, family, social hierarchy, etc.; it met the Tokugawa government's goals of maintaining social order and discouraging change and of demanding absolute loyalty to the ruler.*

- Was the ideal society Confucius sought to create best described as egalitarian or hierarchical? *Hierarchical.*

- What attitude towards authority did Confucius try to instill in people? *Respect and obedience toward authority.*

4. Divide the class into nine groups, assigning each group to read and analyze one of the Confucian analects provided in Part B of Handout 1A. Each group should plan how to act out the story in a way that illustrates the message or guidelines Confucius sought to convey about proper behavior.

5. Ask groups to act out their stories. Debrief each skit by asking the class to identify the Confucian guideline or message about government or social relations illustrated in the story.

6. Have students read Part C of Handout 1A in class or for homework. Discuss the Tokugawa philosophers' applications of Neo-Confucianism, using the following questions.

- How would Confucianism support a strict hierarchical class system? *The separation of heaven and earth and the order of the natural universe were considered models of social order.*

- What parts of Confucianism did the Tokugawa philosophers emphasize? How would these contribute to Tokugawa rule and social stability? *Tokugawa philosophers emphasized Confucianism's ordered relationships, strict class separations, and obligations of each class—all of which would help keep people in their place and keep them from questioning Tokugawa authority.*

7. To evaluate student understanding of Confucian philosophy and its role in social organization in Tokugawa Japan, provide students with the four hypothetical situations described in Handout 1B. As a class, consider how people in the Neo-Confucian society of

Tokugawa Japan ideally might respond in each situation. Possible responses are provided below.

Dilemma 1: *While the villagers would probably have been upset or even disgruntled, they would have obeyed this demand, recognizing the authority of the ruler and their obligations to him.*

Dilemma 2: *This dilemma illustrates the obligations of son to father and family. Ideally, in Tokugawa Japan, a son would not have questioned a marriage match that benefited his family. His personal feelings would have had little weight in relation to family interests.*

Dilemma 3: Samurai *were expected to sacrifice their lives for their lords. The Confucian philosophy of loyalty and unquestioned obedience of subject to ruler reinforced samurai codes of conduct.*

Dilemma 4: *The samurai family would have chosen a marriage partner of equal social rank, despite wealth.*

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Handout 1A
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Confucianism in Japanese Social and Political Thought

Part A
Confucian Philosophy

K'ung Ch'iu, or Kong Qiu—the man who came to be known in the West by the romanized name Confucius—was a Chinese philosopher believed to have lived from 551-479 B.C. Confucius offered his students rules and guidelines of behavior. Confucius' teachings became so fully integrated into the lives of the Chinese that they became a practical doctrine, designed to preserve a political and social system of order and stability.

According to Confucius, the world of nature follows certain unchanging laws. Everything in nature is a piece contributing to an ordered whole. Things in nature cannot exist alone; they exist only as a component of the whole universe, dependent on other things around them. As such, everything in the natural world has a proper place in relationship to everything else.

Confucius taught that in the orderliness and smooth functioning of the natural world lay a model for achieving order in human society. Just as there is a proper order for all things in the universe, there is a proper order to human society. This order could be achieved if every person knew his or her proper place and upheld the responsibilities of that place. Through his definition of five basic human relationships, Confucius provided a guide for ordering the family and society as a whole, which he perceived as an extended family. These five relationships outlined the responsibilities and respect that should exist between:

- subject to ruler;
- child to father;
- wife to husband;
- friend to friend; and
- younger to elder brother.

In Confucian society, the husband and father were the unquestioned authority in all familial relationships. All family members had a duty to obey and respect the male head of household. Just as the male head of household was supreme within the family, the ruler was the unquestioned authority for the extended family, which was society at large. All people had the responsibility of honoring and obeying their ruler. However, this responsibility worked in two ways. The ruler also had responsibilities to his people. The ruler had to protect and insure the welfare of his people, as well as set a good example through his own actions. Confucius taught that if the ruler were honest, his people would also be honest, but

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if the ruler were corrupt, how could he expect anything different from his subjects? Confucius taught that if everyone upheld these basic relationships, social and political order would prevail.

Over time, Confucianism spread from China and was adopted by the people of other Asian countries. Confucianism came to Japan by way of Korea during the 5th century A.D. Later, when Japan opened diplomatic relations with China in the 6th century, interest in Confucianism grew. From the 6th through 9th centuries A.D., the Japanese court was heavily influenced by Confucian social and political philosophy.

Confucianism appealed to the Japanese in part because it reinforced the Japanese people's reverence for nature and sought to find in nature models for the human-made world. Moreover, as a political doctrine, Confucianism's emphasis on the supreme authority of the ruler was a very useful tool in reinforcing the status and authority of Japan's imperial house.

In the early 1600s, a variation of Confucianism called Neo-Confucianism became the political doctrine of the Tokugawa government. This government used the ideas of Neo-Confucianism to unify Japan in a feudal system. Neo-Confucianism was used to justify the Tokugawa's feudal, hierarchical class structure, with the emperor and *shōgun* at the top, and *samurai*, farmers, artisans, and merchants in descending social rank. This hierarchical structure, in turn, helped the Tokugawa government preserve its own power while maintaining peace and stability within society.

Part B
The Confucian Analects: Selected Stories on Social Relationships and Government[1]

In the stories below, Confucius (referred to as Master K'ung or the Master) offers examples and lessons for proper social relationships and good government.

1. Master Yu said, "Those who in private life behave well towards their parents and elder brothers, in public life seldom show a disposition to resist the authority of their superiors. And as for such men starting a revolution, no instance of it has ever occurred. It is upon the trunk that a gentleman works. When that is firmly set up, the Way grows. And surely proper behavior towards parents and elder brothers is the trunk of Goodness." (1:2)

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[1] Analects appear in Wade-Giles transliteration. All translations and annotations from Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1938; reprint, New York: Vintage Books. See Teacher Notes regarding the selection of Waley's Wade-Giles transliteration for this material.

2. The Master said, "A country of a thousand war-chariots cannot be administered unless the ruler attends strictly to business, punctually observes his promises, is economical in expenditure, shows affection towards his subjects in general, and uses the labor of the peasantry only at the proper times of the year." (1:5)

3. The Master said, "Govern the people by regulations, keep order among them by chastisements, and they will flee from you, and lose all self-respect. Govern them by moral force, keep order among them by ritual and they will keep their self-respect and come to you of their own accord." (2:3)

4. Chi K'ang-tzu asked whether there were any form of encouragement by which he could induce the common people to be respectful and loyal. The Master said, "Approach them with dignity, and they will respect you. Show piety towards your parents and kindness toward your children, and they will be loyal to you. Promote those who are worthy, train those who are incompetent; that is the best form of encouragement." (2:20)

5. Duke Ting asked for a precept concerning a ruler's use of his ministers and a minister's service to his ruler. Master K'ung replied saying, "A ruler in employing his ministers should be guided solely by the prescriptions of ritual. Ministers in serving their ruler, solely by devotion to his cause." (3:19)

6. Duke Ching of Ch'i asked Master K'ung about government. Master K'ung replied saying, "Let the prince be a prince, the minister a minister, the father a father and the son a son." The Duke said, "How true! For indeed when the prince is not a prince, the minister not a minister, the father not a father, the son not a son, one may have a dish of millet in front of one and yet not know if one will live to eat it." (12:11)

7. Chi K'ang-tzu asked Master K'ung about the art of ruling. Master K'ung said, "Ruling (cheng) is straightening (cheng). If you lead along a straight way, who will dare go by a crooked one?" (12:17)

8. The Master said, "If the ruler himself is upright, all will go well even though he does not give orders. But if he himself is not upright, even though he gives orders, they will not be obeyed." (13:8)

9. Confucius said, "In serving his parents, a son may gently remonstrate with them. When he sees that they are not inclined to listen to him, he should resume an attitude of reverence and not abandon his effort to serve them. He may feel worried, but does not complain."

Part C
Tokugawa Philosophers on Neo-Confucianism

1. Heaven is above and earth is below. This is the order of heaven and earth. If we can understand the meaning of the order existing between heaven and earth, we can also perceive that in everything there is an order separating those who are above and those who are below. When we extend this understanding between heaven and earth, we cannot allow disorder in the relations between the ruler and the subject, and between those who are above and those who are below. The separation into four classes of samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants, like the five relationships [of ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brother, and friend and friend], is part of the principles of heaven and is the Way which was taught by the Sage.[2]

—Hayashi Razan (1583-1657)

2. Those who are born in the high-ranking families have the heavy obligations of becoming leaders of the people. . . . If they do not learn the way of governing people, they may injure the many people who are entrusted to their care by the Way of Heaven.[3]

—Kaibara Eken, samurai scholar (1630-1714)

3. Birds and beasts, . . . fish and insects, . . . [not] one of them has any respite from seeking food, and none neglects for a day or an instant in a year its flying, running, or going about [for food]. All things are thus. Among men, the farmers, artisans, and merchants also do the same. . . . the farmers, artisans, and merchants have no leisure from their occupations, and so they cannot constantly act in accordance with them and fully exemplify the Way.[4]

—Yamaga Soko

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[2] Conrad Totman, *Japan Before Perry*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, p. 151.
[3] Totman, p. 153.
[4] Totman, p. 155.

Dilemmas

Directions: For each of the situations below, consider how people in a Confucian society such as Tokugawa Japan might have been expected to respond. Describe a Confucian response to the situation. Be able to cite one or more Confucian analects from Handout 1A, Part B to support your decision.

1. A group of villagers is harvesting the rice crop in the fields when a messenger rides up on horseback to announce that taxes are going up; the villagers must now give over one-half of their crop as taxes to the ruler.

2. A young man is informed by his father that a marriage partner has been found for him. His future bride will be the daughter of a neighboring family. Although the son has no feelings for his designated bride, the marriage is considered to be a good alliance of the two families.

3. A samurai is ordered by his *daimyō* on a mission which the samurai thinks will be a suicide mission.

4. A merchant has acquired a great deal of wealth through his trade while a samurai warrior has become impoverished because he has lost his master. Both request the hand of a samurai's daughter in marriage.

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2

Social Class in Tokugawa Society

Introduction: When Tokugawa Ieyasu unified Japan under the Tokugawa shogunate, he brought to an end almost 300 years of warfare among Japan's feudal domains. A goal of the new Tokugawa shogunate was to insure the peace and stability of Japan under a central government ruled by the Tokugawa family. The Tokugawa period, which lasted from 1603 to 1867, was known as the Great Peace. The Tokugawa shogunate strove to maintain this peace, and its own authority, through a code of laws and a social class structure based on the hierarchical and authoritarian ideals of Neo-Confucianism (see Lesson 1 in this unit).

In Part I of this lesson, students use primary source materials to explore how the Tokugawa government defined and enforced a rigid social class structure. They hypothesize how such a structure might have insured peace and stability within the recently unified country. In Part II (optional), students examine a case study of the Tokugawa laws regarding social hierarchy as reflected in art.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Identify and describe the social classes which made up Tokugawa society.

2. Examine sumptuary laws—laws restricting outward displays of wealth—as a means of social control in Tokugawa Japan.

3. Analyze images of palanquins as visual representations of status and power in the Tokugawa period.

4. Discuss how laws and restrictions governing each class contributed to social stability and the continuation of the Tokugawa family's rule over the country.

Materials: Handouts 2A through 2E; Slides 2A and 2B; slide projector and screen

Time required: 2-3 class periods plus optional homework

Procedure:

Part I

1. Review with students what they learned in Lesson 1 of this unit about how Confucian philosophy supported obedience to authority and strict social classes. Do students think that a system of strict social classes and strict rules of behavior would support or

undermine a stable society? How so? Explain that in this lesson, the class will explore the measures that the Tokugawa government took to try to insure stability in 17th-, 18th-, and early 19th-century Japan.

2. Divide the class into three groups, explaining that each group will research rules and norms of behavior for one of the three main social classes in Tokugawa Japan. Group A will study the samurai class; Group B, the merchant class; and Group C, the farmer/peasant class. Each work group will receive a set of primary source materials—translations of laws that the Tokugawa government passed over a 100-year period to guide behavior and inhibit social change within its realm. These materials are provided in Handout 2A and consist of a total of four short readings. Each reading is linked to a particular Tokugawa social class. Within each group, each student should read and analyze the primary source documents relevant to the social class that group has been assigned to study. By the conclusion of their work time, every member of the group should be able to discuss and describe:

- the position and responsibilities of the social class their group studied;
- the different laws applying to that group;
- specific privileges, if any, of that group;
- specific restrictions, if any, on that group; and
- laws regarding clothing (sumptuary laws).

Allow one class period for independent reading and discussion within groups. Handout 2B, a retrieval chart, is provided to aid students in their analysis and discussion. An answer key is provided on page 41.

3. During the next class period or after students have had sufficient time to complete their readings and compare notes within their groups, have students create jigsaw groups as follows: Each group should subdivide into three groups. Each of these subgroups should join with students from the other subgroups to create new groups. Within the three new groups, Group 1 should include students who studied samurai, merchants, and farmers, as should Groups 2 and 3. Allow students approximately 20 minutes to share their information in these new groups. That is, those who studied samurai should teach their new teammates all they know. Those who studied farmers and those who studied merchants should do the same, in turn.

4. To apply their study of the official classes and laws in Tokugawa society, have students create role plays of hypothetical situations in Tokugawa society. Have students form groups of three to six members. Distribute Handout 2C, assigning each group one of the four situations. More than one group may be developing a skit for the same situation, depending on class size. Allow the groups time to develop their skits. Present skits in class at the end of the period or the next day.

5. Debrief the activity by conducting a discussion about the Tokugawa class system. What was the Tokugawa government's motivation for enforcing a strict class structure? How would such laws and strict classes inhibit change? What flaws/weaknesses do students see in the system? How would the different classes react to the rigid structure and laws? Who

would be most likely to be happy with the structure? Who would be least happy? How might the declining social status of samurai as warriors affect things? The changing economic status of merchants?

Part II

1. This optional part of the lesson focuses on sumptuary laws as a means of maintaining order and the social status quo in Tokugawa Japan. Students explore the impact and significance of these laws by considering the palanquin—a traditional mode of transportation—as an expression of upper-class status in Japanese society of the time. To introduce the lesson, ask how many students are familiar with the adage, "Clothing makes the man." Ask one or more volunteers to provide an explanation of the saying.

2. Next, ask students to recall some of the sumptuary laws—laws requiring or forbidding certain kinds of dress, decorations, or ornaments—in Tokugawa Japan. *Students should be able to recall from the primary source readings in the first part of this lesson that only samurai could wear two swords; only* daimyō *and samurai could wear certain colors or family crests; people of the three lower classes—farmers, artisans, and merchants—were prohibited from wearing elaborate clothes or ornaments.*

Ask a volunteer to explain what the purpose of such laws about clothing and ornamentation might be. *Students should recognize that elaborate and colorful clothing and art were reserved for the use and enjoyment of the upper classes—daimyō and samurai—in Tokugawa society.*

3. Distribute the brief reading about sumptuary laws, Handout 2D, or provide the information through lecture/discussion. Ask students to complete the discussion questions provided at the end of the reading.

4. Next, distribute the reading on palanquins, Handout 2E. After students have completed the reading, ask them to imagine what a palanquin might have looked like, including its shape, size, decoration, and so on. Record student ideas on the chalkboard.

5. Tell students they will be looking at slides of two palanquins from the Tokugawa period. In preparation for viewing, ask students to imagine that they are members of the farmer class in Tokugawa Japan who glimpse these palanquins as they travel past them, carrying daimyō to or from the government capital in Edo.

As you show the slides, read from the slide script provided on pages 39-40.

6. To conclude the lesson, students may write a paragraph describing a farmer's feelings and observations as the palanquin procession passes. In their writing assignment, students might focus on the following questions. What feelings would a farmer have toward the palanquin's occupant? What might he feel toward the bearers? How would the procession make him feel about his position in Tokugawa society? The writing assignment may be completed in class or as homework.

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Sources:

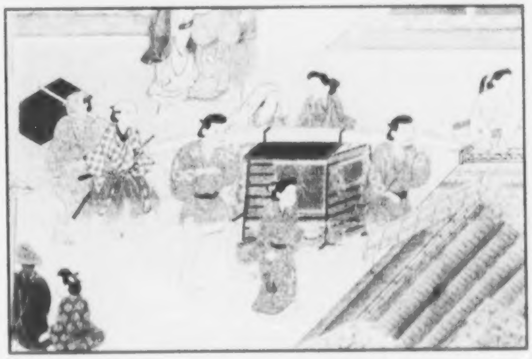
David John Lu. *Sources of Japanese History, Volume I.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, Volume II. Tokyo: Kodansha, Ltd., 1983.

Conrad Totman. *Japan Before Perry: A Short History.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

Ann Yonemura, "Art and Authority: A Tokugawa Palanquin," in *Asian Art, Volume II*, Number 1 (Winter 1989), pp. 9-28.

Slide Script for Lesson 2

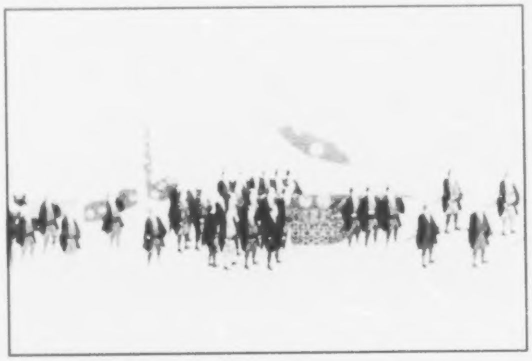


Detail, Scenes in and Around Kyoto, *Edo period, mid 17th century. Six-panel folding screen; ink, color, and gold on paper. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 59.8.*

Slide 2A: Detail from "Scenes in and Around Kyoto," a mid-17th century six-panel folding screen. Describe the palanquin in this image. Comment on the palanquin's design, amount of decoration, the number of bearers, and the dress of the bearers. How closely does this palanquin fit what you had imagined a palanquin to look like?

The degree of decoration on palanquins varied not only by the status of the occupant but also according to the intended use of the palanquin. For ordinary travel, plain, undecorated palanquins were the norm. In this slide, we see a woman's palanquin, entirely closed for privacy and hung from a plain wooden pole, carried by uniformed bearers through the narrow, crowded streets of Kyoto.

What impact might this palanquin and its entourage have had on someone of lower status? Would it have inspired awe among farmers or other lower class people in the 17th century? Why or why not?



Detail, Fukuhime's Procession to Edo, *Edo period, early 19th century. Handscroll, ink and color on paper. The Tokugawa Art Museum.*

Slide 2B: Detail from "Fukuhime's Procession to Edo," from an early 19th-century handscroll. Compare this image to the previous one, paying close attention to the palanquin's design, amount of decoration, number of bearers, and the dress of the bearers. How is this palanquin and its entourage different from the previous one?

This palanquin was created for the marriage of a noblewoman into the Tokugawa family. The bride of a shōgun or a daimyō was carried from her family home to her wedding ceremony and her husband's residence in a lavishly decorated palanquin marked in gold with family crests (*kamon*).

Look now at the white circular patterns on the roof of the palanquin. These patterns are the family crests. The trefoil (clover)-shaped crest on the right of the palanquin's roof is the

Tokugawa family crest. The peony crest on the left is the crest of the bride's family. The patterns are visible on the large umbrellas and the red trunks being carried by bearers behind the palanquin.

Look closely at the bearers in the image. What are they wearing? Notice that the bearers all have two swords and wear their hair in topknots, which distinguish them as men of the samurai class.

Answer Key for Lesson 2

Handout 2B:

Tokugawa Class Structure
Retrieval Chart

Social Class	Status/ Privilege	Proper Behavior	Improper Behavior	Restrictions	Laws Regarding Clothing
samurai	*high status* *could wear swords*	*lead frugal, simple life*	*wanton revelry* *drunkenness*	*marry only with daimyō permission* *could not ride in palanquins*	*special dress* *could not wear purple silk, white damask*
farmers	*middle status*	*loyalty and respect for daimyō (lords)* *work fields* *women served men* *help other farmers— group responsibility for fields and harvest* *pay taxes*	*excessive drinking* *any kind of overindulgence*	*houses had to be consistent with station in life* *could not eat rice* *could not brew sake* *could not ride in palanquin* *could not leave farms*	*village headmen could wear silk, pongee, linen, cotton; lower officials could only wear linen and cotton*
merchants	*low status*	*should focus on business* *respect for superiors* *pay attention to own family*	*trying to copy samurai ways* *wearing swords* *extravagant clothes*	*restricted clothing*	*could not wear silk, family crests, clothing, or colors reserved for samurai and daimyō*

Tokugawa Government: Primary Source Packet

Reading #1: For all work groups
Military Government and the Social Order

Note: In this essay, the first Tokugawa shōgun's views on social classes are described. The roles of emperor and shōgun are also clarified.

Once, Lord Tōshō [Ieyasu] conversed with Honda, Governor Sado, on the subject of the emperor, the shōgun, and the farmer. "Whether there is order or chaos in the nation depends on the virtues and vices of these three. The emperor, with compassion in his heart for the needs of the people, must not be remiss in the performance of his duties—from the early morning worship of the New Year to the monthly functions of the court.

Secondly, the shōgun must not forget the possibility of war in peacetime, and must maintain his discipline. He should be able to maintain order in the country; he should bear in mind the security of the sovereign; and he must strive to dispel the anxieties of the people. One who cultivates the way of the warrior only in times of crisis is like a rat who bites his captor in the throes of being captured. The man may die from the effects of the poisonous bite, but to generate courage on the spur of the moment is not the way of a warrior. To assume the way of the warrior upon the outbreak of war is like a rat biting his captor. Although this is better than fleeing from the scene, the true master of the way of the warrior is one who maintains his martial discipline even in time of peace.

Thirdly, the farmer's toil is proverbial—from the first grain to a hundred acts of labor. He selects the seed from last fall's crop, and undergoes various hardships and anxieties through the heat of the summer until the seed grows finally to a rice plant. It is harvested and husked and then offered to the land steward. The rice then becomes sustenance for the multitudes. Truly, the hundred acts of toil from last fall to this fall are like so many tears of blood. Thus, it is a wise man who, while partaking of his meal, appreciates the hundred acts of toil of the people.

Fourthly, the artisan's occupation is to make and prepare wares and utensils for the use of others.

Fifthly, the merchant facilitates the exchange of goods so that the people can cover their nakedness and keep their bodies warm. As the people produce clothing, food and housing, which are called the 'three treasures,' they deserve our every sympathy.

Source: Ryusaku Tsunoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume I.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. 329-330. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

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Reading #2: For merchant work group
On Being a Good Merchant, 1726-1733

Note: This essay is an excerpt from a Tokugawa merchant's recollections of his business success. The work influenced later Tokugawa merchants.

In Edo, some merchants take on building for the government or other speculative ventures and make a fortune at one mighty bound, but they only go to prove the common adage that "he who lives by the river drowns in the river." It is like a gambler's money, which, as everyone knows, finally is lost in the way in which it was made.

. . . In business bargaining, you should concentrate on following the opportunities of the times, and in observing the times, you should consider how they might change. If you do not give some thought to your business from time to time . . . your shop's business finally will fall off, and you will lose a good patrimony. Never waste your attention on matters which have nothing to do with your work. Merchants who ape samurai or think that Shintō, Confucianism or Buddhism will preserve their inner hearts will find that they will only ruin their houses if they become too deeply engrossed in them. . . . Remember that it is the family business which must not be neglected for a moment.

In this connection, there was a man in Edo called Fushimiya Shirōbei. His father was a timber merchant who made the most of his opportunities. When Shirōbei took over, he was very much the type who has to keep up with the neighbors and was extremely fond of ostentation. . . .

Later, Shirōbei sought permission for an exchange of goods at Nagasaki to the value of five thousand *kamme*.* His request was granted on payment of a contribution, and he proceeded down to Nagasaki for two years. He distributed large sums to the people of that place and to the local temples and shrines. . . . However, just when he was astonishing everyone with his luxury, a petition was put in by Takagi Hikoemon, a town elder of Nagasaki, offering a bigger contribution than that paid by Fushimiya. As a result, Fushimiya had his license revoked, and Takagi got the concession. Shirōbei's position was therefore hopeless, and after twenty years he eventually ran out of food and died of starvation.

Now Takagi Hikoemon applied for permission to wear swords on the grounds that the above activity was on behalf of the government and took charge of government ships at

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*a unit of currency

Source: David John Lu, *Sources of Japanese History, Volume 1*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974, pp. 225-227.

Nagasaki, making a display of his authority. . . . With the little authority that he had, he despised the local people, and as a result, the servants who were his retainers learned from their superiors, as they say, and thus, through a brawl [with a low-ranking samurai] started in the action of a few attendants, Takagi's house perished.

Again, a merchant called Ishikawa Rokubei, of Obune-chō, Edo, who started off in the brokerage business, had a wife who was extraordinarily extravagant and went to the limit in finery. Retribution finally caught up with them. Along the route of the valiant Shōgun Tsunayoshi's first progress to Ueno, when this Rokubei's wife and her servants were watching in their ornamental dresses, the valiant shōgun, thinking that she was the wife of a daimyō or of some family of high rank, graciously had his aides make inquiries and was told that she was the wife of that fellow. After he had returned to the palace, Rokubei and his wife were summoned to the office of the town magistrate. It was considered that their extravagance was beyond their station and particularly their lack of respect for their superiors was outrageous. Their family property was forfeited, and, by the shōgun's mercy, they got off with banishment from Edo. As they say, a curse always falls on the house where the hen does the crowing. . . .

Isoda, Iguchi, Ishiuchi, Horiuchi, Higuchi, the Fushimiya crowd, Kurata and Kinokuniya, merchants famous in Edo at that time, have all crashed or, if still carrying on, might as well not be. Merchants always have been in the position of having no fixed stipends, and so they grow rich through having a time of good fortune. However much wealth their children inherit, it is as though they were, thanks to their fathers' labors, holding in trust for a time money which is common currency. Thus, when the trustees fail to look after it properly, it immediately is dispersed.

In recent years, after their fathers die, young persons seclude themselves on the pretext of illness and behave as though in retirement. As they give themselves over to idleness, their behavior naturally deteriorates. Having no regard for reputation or appearances, they lose their sense of responsibility towards other people and carry on just as they please. By acting in this way, they start the decline of their families. They are not acting as human beings should. It is the law of nature that birds and beasts and in fact all things which dwell between heaven and earth—and, above all, human beings—should seek their sustenance by working at their callings. This being so, such behavior on the part of people far from being in their dotage displays ignorance of the will of heaven.

A Buddhist priest aims to spend his old age as head of a great temple and pass on his understanding of the Law to the congregation. . . . (A)nyone born a layman who prefers pleasures from an early age is doing nothing else but preferring hardships later. To make one's own house prosperous, to nurture one's family properly, to have a long life and to pass away with a clear conscience would be to be a living Buddha. On the other hand, to love pleasure when young, to have one's house decline in old age and not to be at ease at the end, is this not to go straight to eternal hell? . . . Everything changes in various ways, depending on where the heart is. Is it not true that things turn out as they do because people do not think highly of their calling or family?

A thing which is called good by people [need not be shared by the merchants]. When merchants become sages, their houses decline. In ruling the empire, there are the Way of the King and the Way of the Tyrant. Kings dislike fighting. They act not in their own interest but in the interests of the empire and the people. That is the Way of the King. Tyrants assume an outward appearance of benevolence but act in the interests of their families and themselves. That is the Way of the Tyrant. Realize that, from olden times, famous and clever generals have followed the Way of the Tyrant. To depart from benevolence for even a day is to be inhuman. On the other hand, however, to go too far in charity without counting the cost is stupid. You should understand this in a way which brings benefits in trade. It is, for example, the practice of benevolence for a commander to respect his officers and men. If in the future there should be further instances of the rise and fall of merchants, you should preserve them in these writings as instructive for later generations. . . .

Reading #3: For samurai work group
Laws Governing the Military Households

Note: The character of Tokugawa rule is exemplified in these laws, issued in 1615, governing the military aristocracy. The object of these laws was to insure peace and order among the feudal domains. The code was extremely precise in regard to certain security requirements affecting the interests of the Tokugawa family as military overlords.

[1] The arts of peace and war, including archery and horsemanship, should be pursued single-mindedly.

From of old the rule has been to practice "the arts of peace on the left hand, and the arts of war on the right;" both must be mastered. Archery and horsemanship are indispensable to military men. Though arms are called instruments of evil, there are times when they must be resorted to. In peacetime we should not be oblivious to the danger of war. Should we not, then, prepare ourselves for it?

[2] Drinking parties and wanton revelry should be avoided.

In the codes that have come down to us this kind of dissipation has been severely proscribed. Sexual indulgence and habitual gambling lead to the downfall of a state.

[3] Offenders against the law should not be harbored or hidden in any domain.

Law is the basis of social order. Reason may be violated in the name of the law, but law may not be violated in the name of reason. Those who break the law deserve heavy punishment.

[4] Great lords (daimyō), the lesser lords, and officials should immediately expel from their domains any among their retainers or henchmen who have been charged with treason or murder.

Wild and wicked men may become weapons for overturning the state and destroying the people. How can they be allowed to go free?

[5] Henceforth no outsider, none but the inhabitants of a particular domain, shall be permitted to reside in that domain.

Source: Ryusaku Tsunoda et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume I.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. 326-328. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

Each domain has its own ways. If a man disclosed the secrets of one's own country to another domain or if the secrets of the other domain are disclosed to one's own, that will sow the seeds of deceit and sycophancy.

[6] Whenever it is intended to make repairs on a castle of one of the feudal domains, the [shogunate] authorities should be notified. The construction of any new castles is to be halted and stringently prohibited.

"Big castles are a danger to the state." Walls and moats are the cause of great disorders.

[7] Immediate report should be made of innovations which are being planned or of factional conspiracies being formed in neighboring domains.

"Men all incline toward partisanship; few are wise and impartial. There are some who refuse to obey their masters, and others who feud with their neighbors."[1] Why, instead of abiding by the established order, do they wantonly embark upon new schemes?

[8] Do not enter into marriage privately [i.e., without notifying the shogunate authorities].

Marriage follows the principles of harmony between yin and yang, and must not be entered into lightly. In the *Book of Changes*, under the thirty-eighth hexagram, it says, "Marriage should not be contracted out of enmity [against another]. Marriages intended to effect an alliance with enemies [of the state] will turn out badly." The Peach Blossom ode in *The Book of Poetry* also says that "When men and women are proper in their relationships and marriage is arranged at the correct time; then throughout the land there will be no loose women." To form an alliance by marriage is the root of treason.

[9] Visits of the daimyō to the capital are to be in accordance with regulations.

The *Chronicles of Japan, Continued*, contains a regulation that "Clansmen should not gather together whenever they please, but only when they have to conduct some public business; and also that the number of horsemen serving as an escort in the capital should be limited to twenty. . . ." Daimyō should not be accompanied by a large number of soldiers. Twenty horsemen shall be the maximum escort for daimyō with an income of from one million to two hundred thousand *koku*[2] of rice. For those with an income of one hundred thousand koku or less, the escort should be proportionate to their income. On official missions, however, they may be accompanied by an escort proportionate to their rank.

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[1] A quote from the *Constitution of Prince Shotoku*, a 7th-century document which established Confucian rules of behavior in Japan.

[10] Restrictions on the type and quality of dress to be worn should not be transgressed.

Lord and vassal, superior and inferior, should observe what is proper to their station in life. [Without authorization, no retainer may indiscriminately wear fine white damask, white wadded silk garments, purple silk kimono, purple silk linings, and kimono sleeves which bear no family crest. Lately retainers and soldiers have taken to wearing rich damask and silk brocade. This was not sanctioned by the old laws, and must now be kept within bounds.[3]]

[11] Persons without rank shall not ride in palanquins.

From of old there have been certain families entitled to ride in palanquins without special permission, and others who have received such permission. Recently, however, even the ordinary retainers and henchmen of some families have taken to riding about in palanquins, which is truly the worst sort of presumption. Henceforth permission shall be granted only to the lords of the various domains, their close relatives and ranking officials, medical men and astrologers, those over sixty years of age, and those ill or infirm. In the cases of ordinary household retainers or henchmen who willfully ride in palanquins, their masters shall be held accountable. Exceptions to this law are the court families, Buddhist prelates, and the clergy in general.

[12] The samurai of the various domains shall lead a frugal and simple life.

When the rich make a display of their wealth, the poor are humiliated and envious. Nothing engenders corruption so much as this, and therefore it must be strictly curbed.

[13] The lords of the domains should select officials with a capacity for public administration.

Good government depends on getting the right men. Due attention should be given to their merits and faults; rewards and punishments must be properly meted out. If a domain has able men, it flourishes; if it lacks able men it is doomed to perish. This is the clear admonition of the wise men of old. The purpose of the foregoing should be conscientiously observed.

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[2] A measurement of rice, which was used as currency in the Tokugawa period.
[3] This passage is excerpted from David John Lu, *Sources of Japanese History, Volume 1*. McGraw-Hill, 1974, p. 203.

Reading #4: For farmer work group
Injunctions for Peasants

Note: These injunctions, or rules, were written by Naoe Kanetsugu, a retainer of the daimyō Aizu. His statements reflect daimyō attitudes towards the peasants and the daimyō goals of high production and hard work on the part of peasants. Note the attitude towards wives and family members of farmers. What was their function and obligation?

1. Consider the Lord of your domain, the sun and the moon. Respect your fief holder or magistrate as the patron deity of your place. Treat your village head as if he were your own father.

2. During the first five days of the new year, pay respect to those around you in accordance with your position. Within the first fifteen days, make more than enough ropes needed to perform your major and minor public services (corvée labor for the year). After the first fifteen days, when mountains and fields are covered with snow, accumulate all the firewood needed for the year. Use a sleigh to pull night soil on the fields. At night make sandals for horses. Daughters and wives must sew and weave China-grass to make clothing for their menfolk. If there is a housewife who makes an excessive amount of tea to entertain others, visits around in the absence [of menfolk] and gossips, then she must have a hidden lover. Even if a man has a child with her, that kind of woman must be sent away. . . .

5. During the fourth month, men must work in the fields from dawn to dusk and make furrows as deep as the hoe can penetrate. Wives and daughters must make meals three times, put on red headbands and take the meals to the fields. Old and young alike must put the meals in front of the men who are soiled from their work. By seeing the wives attired in red, men, old and young alike, can be so encouraged . . . to the extent of forgetting their fatigue. Once men are home after dusk, give them bath water, and let them wash their feet. Sisters-in-law and female cousins must put the chapped feet of the man on the stomach of his wife and massage them. Let him forget the toil of the day.

Near the end of the fourth month, put a harrow on the horse and rake the fields. Cut miscanthus grass from the nearby mountains and put them on the China-grass field. If the field is located near a house, always check how the wind is blowing before burning the miscanthus grass. If time is appropriate, sow millet, barley and wheat seeds.

Source: David John Lu, *Sources of Japanese History, Volume 1*. McGraw-Hill, 1974, pp. 207-210.

13. During the twelfth month, if there is a notification from the fief holder or magistrate about a tax overdue, quickly make the payment. For this favor he renders you, send a bowl of loach fish soup accompanied by a dish of fried sardines. Although, according to the regulations, all that is expected of a farmer on such an occasion is a bowl of soup and a dish of vegetables, the ones [just suggested] are more appropriate. If no tax is paid after the due notice, you can have your precious wife taken away from you as security. Do not forget that in your master's house there are many young minor officials and middlemen who may steal your wife. To make sure that kind of thing never happens to you, pay all your taxes before the end of the eleventh month. Take heed that this advice is adhered to. You are known as a man of lowly origin. But even so, you do not wish to see your precious wife exposed to wild winds (misfortunes), being taken away from you and stolen by younger men. In this fashion you may lose the support of the way of heaven, come to the end of the rope, be scorned by your lowly peer groups, and regret the incident forever. Always remember that such a misfortune can befall you, and be diligent in delivering your annual tax rice and in doing work for the magistrate. Once all the annual taxes are paid, prepare for the coming of the new year. Make the remaining rice into *mochi*,[1] brew some *sake*,[2] buy some salted fish, and add another year to your life happily. New Year is the time you must be able to chant along with others: I set sail on this journey of longevity. May the moon also accompany me!

Regulations for Villagers

Note: These regulations were issued by the government of the shōgun, the bakufu, *in 1643. The document provides minute detail concerning what peasants could eat and what they could wear. Any luxury which would curtail the peasants' ability to pay taxes was forbidden.*

1. Hereafter, both the village headman and higher village officials may not build houses which are not consistent with their stations in life. However, town houses may be built under the direction of the fief holder or magistrate.

2. Concerning farmer's clothing, in accordance with the previous bakufu edict, the village headman and his family may wear silk, pongee, linen, and cotton; lower village officials may wear only linen or cotton. Other materials may not be used to make the neckband or waist sash.

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[1] rice cake
[2] rice wine

3. Neither the village headman nor the higher village officials may dye their clothing purple or crimson. Other colors may be used to dye clothing for wear but no design is permitted.

4. Farmers must be told that their normal meals must consist of grains other than rice and wheat. Rice especially must not be consumed indiscriminately.

5. In villages, hot noodles, thin noodles, buckwheat noodles, bean-jam buns, bean curds and the like may not be traded. This is to prevent wasteful use of the five grains.

6. Sake must not be brewed in villages. Nor can it be bought from elsewhere to be sold locally.

7. Do not go to market towns to drink freely.

8. Farmers must be told that they must take good care of their wet and dry fields, and weed them attentively and conscientiously. If there are insolent farmers who are negligent, the matter will be investigated and the offenders duly punished.

9. If a single farmer is unmistakably overburdened, and cannot carry on his share of farm work, not only his five-man group but also the entire village must [in the spirit of] mutual help, assist in his rice planting, and otherwise enable him to pay his annual taxes.

10. From this year on, planting of tobacco on either old fields or new fields is strictly forbidden, because its cultivation wastes the lands that can be used to grow the five grains.

11. The village elders and higher village officials, both men and women are forbidden to use any kind of conveyance.

12. Farmers must be told that no shelter can be given in the district to anyone who comes from another village and does not cultivate the fields, and is not reliable. If any farmer gives shelter to such a person, the gravity of his offense is to be investigated, and he becomes subject to arrest and imprisonment.

13. Wet and dry fields may not be sold in perpetuity.

14. Farmers may not, on account of disputes involving annual taxes and other matters, desert their places and take refuge with those who have absconded. Anyone who violates this, after an investigation may be considered as committing culpable offense.

15. If the fief holders administer the area so poorly that the farmers find it

impossible to endure it any longer, they may first pay up all the annual taxes, and leave the village. They may even establish their residence in a neighboring county. If there is no tax overdue, the fief holders cannot punish them with banishment.

16. Even in the matters of Buddhist ceremonies and religious festivals, overindulgence beyond one's own status must be avoided.

17. Within the city limits of Edo, no one is to ride on top of a horse loaded with wood, hay, goods in straw sacks and the like.

The above articles must be made known to all the villages, to secure immediate observance of their intent. Care must be taken continuously to conform to these injunctions.

Twentieth year of Kanei [1643], third month, 11th day.

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Tokugawa Class Structure Retrieval Chart

Directions: You have been assigned to a small work group to research laws regarding one of three social classes in Tokugawa Japan. Complete the readings and fill in data for your social class on the retrieval chart. Then, compare your findings with others in your work group and add data to your chart. Later, you will compare rules for all the social classes.

Social Class	Status/ Privilege	Proper Behavior	Improper Behavior	Restrictions	Laws Regarding Clothing

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Handout 2C
Page 1 of 1

The Tokugawa Class System: Skits

Directions: Student groups will be assigned one of the following situations depicting interactions among three different social classes in Tokugawa Japan. Within your group, assign roles and create a skit, with dialogue, to demonstrate how this situation might have been played out in Tokugawa Japan. Apply what you have learned from your research about the status, privileges, rules, and proper behavior of each Tokugawa social class.

1. **The prosperous merchant, #1**. Yamaguchi is an Edo merchant who has become very wealthy from selling clothing, shoes, and other consumer items to the Edo townspeople as well as to samurai and their families visiting the capital city. In fact, Yamaguchi has made so much money that he now sees himself as a man of leisure. He spends only a few hours a day at his shop. He devotes most of his time to studying the Confucian classics, learning such upper class art forms as calligraphy and tea ceremony, and generally imitating samurai lifestyles. He is also educating his son in the Confucian classics rather than in his own business. Government officials who have noticed Yamaguchi believe he is putting on airs. They have warned him to reform his ways. Create a skit which demonstrates Yamaguchi's lifestyle. Include a conversation between Yamaguchi and government officials. Conclude your skit with your idea of what would ultimately happen to Yamaguchi, according to Tokugawa rules.

2. **The marriage**. A samurai family has two sons. The younger son is now at an age when he should marry. Because he is the younger son, the parents have not devoted as much time to choosing a bride for him. He has fallen in love with the daughter of a farmer and wants to marry her. Create a skit in which the young man discusses with his parents such a marriage. What will his parents say and why? How will the family proceed? What must they do according to Tokugawa laws? How will the situation be resolved?

3. **A peasant village**. A certain daimyō is concerned about one of the villages in his domain. As a whole, the village is not producing as much rice as some of the other villages. Thus, the village farmers are not paying enough taxes. The daimyō sends several of his samurai to the village to remind the farmers of their responsibilities. Create a skit portraying the meeting between the samurai and the farmers, the lecture/warnings delivered to the farmers, and the aftermath of this lecture if the farmers don't change their ways.

4. **The prosperous merchant, #2**. A wealthy townsman of the merchant class has more money than he knows what to do with. Lately, he has been buying ostentatious clothing. He dresses in bright colors and his wife wears purple kimono. He has approached two artisans, asking one to design for him a family crest and asking the other to build a fancy palanquin—enclosed vehicle—for him. The artisans have refused to undertake the work this merchant has requested. Create a skit that demonstrates this merchant's lifestyle. Include in your skit a confrontation between this merchant and the two artisans in which the artisans explain why they will not do the work he requests.

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Tokugawa Sumptuary Laws

One means the Tokugawa government used to reinforce and control the social class system they had instituted was the passage of sumptuary laws—laws prohibiting overt displays of wealth and power such as extravagant dress, elaborate furnishings, and so on—by all except high-ranking samurai and daimyō. The guiding principle of the sumptuary laws was the Confucian principle of hierarchy and proper place that guided Tokugawa society: "Lord and vassal, superior and inferior, should observe what is proper to their station in life."

In the beginning of the period, such laws maintained the actual social hierarchy. However, as the Tokugawa period progressed and the Japanese economy flourished under a period of extended peace, the merchant class became increasingly wealthy. Merchant wealth belied the low official status of this class. At the same time, samurai became more impoverished despite their high official status. The Tokugawa government felt it necessary to pass more and more detailed sumptuary laws in an effort to prohibit the increasingly affluent merchant class from displaying its true wealth. By allowing samurai to display wealth and other classes not, the sumptuary laws helped to enforce an illusion of a stable social class structure with the samurai in the most powerful position. By the 1700s, it was becoming increasingly difficult to enforce sumptuary laws. The following are excerpts from sumptuary laws issued by the Tokugawa government.

Laws Governing Military Households, 1615:

> Without authorization, no retainer may indiscriminately wear fine white damask, white wadded silk garments, purple silk kimono, purple silk linings, and kimono sleeves which bear no family crest. Lately retainers and soldiers have taken to wearing rich damask and silk brocade. This was not sanctioned by the old laws, and must now be kept within bounds.

Economy of Orders, 1724:

> Women's dress has of recent years become more and more showy. Hereafter, even the wives of daimyō shall not use more than a small amount of gold thread embroidery in their garments and shall not wear dresses made of costly fabrics. . . . Expensive lacquerware is not to be bought, even by daimyō. The chairs, chests, and workboxes of their wives are to be plain black lacquer, with no more than a crest as ornament. . . .

Questions for Discussion:

1. For what purposes did the Tokugawa government issue sumptuary laws?

2. How would you feel about the sumptuary laws if you were a samurai? If you were a wealthy merchant? A farmer? Explain.

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Handout 2E
Page 1 of 1

Palanquins

Palanquins were enclosed passenger compartments, supported by wooden poles and carried by two or more bearers. Palanquins were the quickest and most comfortable method of transportation in Tokugawa Japan, and thus the mode of transportation of the upper classes—daimyō and samurai. Traditionally, even before the Tokugawa period, palanquins had been symbols of status. In the Heian period (794-1185), only the emperor and his consort were allowed to ride in palanquins, then the equivalent of European nobles' royal carriages.

When the Tokugawa family unified Japan, laws regarding the use of palanquins were part of a broader enforcement of social hierarchy and order. The Laws Governing Military Households, issued in 1615, stated that "persons without rank shall not ride in palanquins." The laws went on to say, "From of old there have been certain families entitled to ride in palanquins without special permission, and others who have received such permission. Recently, however, even the ordinary retainers and henchmen of some families have taken to riding about in palanquins, which is truly the worst sort of presumption. Henceforth permission shall be granted only to the lords of the various domains, their close relatives and ranking officials, medical men and astrologers, those over sixty years of age, and those ill or infirm. In the cases of ordinary household retainers or henchmen who willfully ride in palanquins, their masters shall be held accountable. Exceptions to this law are the court families, Buddhist prelates, and the clergy in general."

In Tokugawa Japan, the palanquin took on new significance and utility because of the Tokugawa shogunate's system of alternate attendance, which required daimyō and their samurai to spend every other year in the capital city of Edo, now Tokyo. Daimyō, with their entourage of attendants and servants and all their provisions for their stay in Edo, made long processions to and from the capital. The palanquin became the overt symbol of the power of these daimyō in relation to the common people: The daimyō commissioned elaborate, beautiful palanquins so that all the people along the road from their home to Edo would have visible proof of their power.

As the Tokugawa period progressed, palanquins had increased in number and usage to the point that they were in danger of losing their status as symbols of power and privilege. The Tokugawa government passed laws restricting not only who could own or ride in palanquins, but also the form, decoration, materials, and number of bearers one could use for the palanquin. The decoration of palanquins reflected the official art of the period. The inner walls of the palanquin were adorned with elaborate paintings of traditional subjects: cherry blossoms, birds, and other scenes from nature. Decoration, color, and material were prescribed by social rank: the greater the status of the passenger in Tokugawa society, the more elaborate the palanquin was allowed to be.

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3

Social Change and the Development of Urban Culture

Introduction: By the latter half of the Tokugawa period, forces of social and economic change had overpowered the best efforts of the Tokugawa government to maintain a rigid, stable social class system in Japan. On the one hand, strict rules of dress and occupation had maintained a veneer of social stability with samurai at the top of the social ladder. On the other hand, however, decades of peace had contributed to a thriving economy based on commerce, an economy that had catapulted merchants and, behind them, artisans into commanding positions of wealth, despite their lack of social status.

In this activity, students explore the appearance versus the reality of social classes in the latter half of Tokugawa Japan. Having considered the government-enforced social structure in Lesson 2, students now read literature of the period to glimpse the actual economic positions and way of life of the merchant class and other wealthy townspeople in Tokugawa Japan. Students then examine a small number of *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints to learn more about the urban culture that characterized late Tokugawa Japan. Students then may study the popular culture of the townspeople in greater depth in Lesson 5, examining the work and subject matter of one of the most popular ukiyo-e artists, Hokusai.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Identify causes, characteristics, and repercussions of the changing social and economic structure in Tokugawa Japan.

2. Analyze and discuss portrayals of urban life and the merchant class in popular literature and art of the period.

3. Use artwork to describe the urban popular culture enjoyed and supported by the affluent merchant class in Tokugawa Japan.

Time required: 2 class periods plus homework

Materials: Handouts 3A and 3B; Slides 3A through 3E; slide projector and screen

Procedure:

1. Begin the lesson by asking students to recall what they have learned about the four official social classes of Tokugawa Japan (Lessons 1 and 2 of this unit). Which group made up the highest class, which the lowest? How did this class structure reflect Confucian values

and hierarchy? How did a strict class system serve the Tokugawa shogunate's goal of peace and political security?

Students should be able to recall from earlier lessons in this unit that samurai made up the highest class because they were responsible for the defense of the nation; farmers were the second class, because they produced food for the nation; artisans constituted the third class and were valued because they also produced goods; merchants were the lowest class because they produced nothing and merely made their wealth through the sale of other people's work. These classes reflected Confucian values of productivity and working for the benefit of society as a whole. By prescribing an inflexible social hierarchy, the Tokugawa government intended to insure that there would be no social unrest or upheaval which could undermine their rule.

2. Provide students with the information about social change in the Tokugawa period provided in the Background Notes on page 67. These notes may be used as the basis of a teacher lecture or may be photocopied and provided to students as a homework reading assignment. In discussion, emphasize the following points from the reading:

- The long period of peace during the Tokugawa period made it possible for Japanese society to focus on production and commerce rather than warfare. Agriculture and commerce thrived.

- Cities grew up outside daimyō castles and along the routes to Edo, which the daimyō traveled to fulfill the Tokugawa requirement of service to the *shōgun*. These cities took on lives of their own as centers of trade.

- Urban dwellers—particularly merchants—grew wealthy during the Tokugawa period. Merchants, in fact, had far more money (though less official influence) than the higher-status samurai. While the samurai struggled with reduced livelihoods, merchants thrived. The wealthy urban merchant class demonstrated their affluence through conspicuous consumption of goods, patronage of theater such as *kabuki* and *bunraku*, and a thirst for reading material and art.

- The arts and entertainment that developed to cater to the tastes of merchants and other townspeople presented a sharp contrast to the refined, formalized, classical arts of the upper classes. Urban arts and entertainment focused on the lives and interests of townspeople: making money, spending money, having fun, and living in extravagance. As such, these art forms challenged the strict social structure and political control of the Tokugawa government.

3. Explain that students will explore the changing status and culture of the merchant class in the early Tokugawa period by reading two short stories from that period. These stories were written by Ihara Saikaku—known as Saikaku—one of the most noted writers of the period. His stories capture the growing wealth and economic influence of the Tokugawa merchant class. Distribute Handouts 3A and 3B, readings which may be assigned as homework. Study questions are provided at the end of each story to guide student reading.

4. After students have completed the readings, ask volunteers to describe life for townspeople, especially merchants, in Tokugawa Japan.

- What evidence do they see from the stories that merchants had acquired wealth and economic influence?
- What frustrations did the merchants seem to face in Tokugawa society?
- What outlets did they have for their frustrations?

Students should recognize that the merchant class, officially deemed the lowest class in Tokugawa society, had acquired vast wealth that could buy them influence, support a lavish lifestyle, and patronize new arts and interests. The merchant class had money to spend and they spent it lavishly on the new forms of art, literature, and theater that reflected their own lives and tastes.

Focus class attention on the study questions provided with each story and spend time discussing the "messages" about increasing merchant wealth reflected in these stories. Answers are provided in the answer key on page 69.

5. Having explored literature as a reflection and chronicle of social life and change, ask the class to consider visual art as another means of reflecting and conveying the ideals, values, interests, and daily lives of a society. Students might be asked to offer examples of visual arts that they think reveal aspects of their own lives and culture such as poster art, compact disc covers, or even advertisements.

Explain that woodblock prints—a form of inexpensive, mass-produced art—were the Tokugawa equivalent of some of our contemporary popular art forms, such as posters. Woodblock prints depicting urban life were called ukiyo-e. The term *ukiyo* translates as "floating world" and refers to the pastimes, entertainment and fashion which characterized urban, particularly merchant, culture in Tokugawa Japan. Ukiyo-e translates as "pictures of the floating world."

Ask students to spend a minute brainstorming the meaning and significance of the term "floating world." What does the term connote? What images come to mind? Can students see in this term a sense of carelessness, frivolity, uncertainty? How does the term convey a sense of life's fleeting quality and an attitude of living for the moment?

6. Show Slides 3A through 3E. Each of the images in this series is an ukiyo-e depicting the life of leisure and entertainment pursued by wealthy townspeople in the Tokugawa period. A slide script is provided on pages 71-72 to guide viewing.

7. Following the slide show, ask students to reflect on the woodblock prints as a chronicle of urban life in Tokugawa Japan. Questions to guide a culminating discussion or a written homework activity might include the following:

- What did townspeople like to do for enjoyment?

- Given that these prints represent art created by urban dwellers for urban dwellers, how did the people see themselves? What were their interests?

- How does the use of color and composition reinforce the vibrant subject matter of the prints?

- How does the viewer know the townspeople of the time had money and leisure? Enjoyed life?

8. As an extension activity, students may research and read on their own samples of kabuki or bunraku (puppet) theater of the Tokugawa period. Both are performing arts that grew up in the Tokugawa period to cater to the interests of urban dwellers.

Additional Resources:

Puppeteers Apprentice: Faces of Japan II. TeleJapan and Pacific Mountain Network, 1989. This videotape, available in 30 and 15 minute versions, presents the story of a young man learning the art of bunraku theater in contemporary Japan.

Japanese Culture Old and New: Kabuki. NHK Enterprises and Mid-Atlantic Region Japan in the Schools Program, 1991. A 30-minute videotape offers a primer on history, aesthetics, style, make-up, music, and motifs of kabuki theater.

Castle Towns. Stanford, CA: Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE), no date. This one-week unit on social and economic change in Tokugawa Japan includes ukiyo art.

C2

The Development of Urban Culture

At the beginning of the Tokugawa period, the shōgun's government enforced a strict four-class social system consisting of samurai as the upper class, followed by farmers, artisans, and, at the bottom of the social scale, merchants. In the early years of the Tokugawa period, this system accurately reflected social and economic power.

However, years of peace under Tokugawa rule brought social and economic change. The samurai class, who had obtained their high status through their important function as soldiers in the warring period that preceded the Tokugawa rule, had little important work to do in a prolonged era of peace. There were far more samurai than there were positions as soldiers. The highest-ranking samurai obtained the existing positions and, over time, were trained for new roles as government bureaucrats and scholars. However, the majority of samurai, with middle and low rankings, found themselves without masters and without jobs. The economic hardship suffered by the majority of samurai only made their high official social status more ironic and frustrating for them.

For Tokugawa society at large, the freedom from warfare meant that society could focus on agricultural production, production of goods, and trade. Agriculture thrived, as did commerce. The chief beneficiaries of this prosperity were the merchants who brokered goods and services. Despite their low official status, the merchant class began to wield influence because of their wealth.

Through the early years of the Tokugawa period, towns grew up around daimyō castles. Towns also sprang up along the routes from outlying domains to the government capital of Edo. These towns were a result of the continual traffic of daimyō and their retainers back and forth to Edo where they traveled to fulfill their obligatory service to the shōgun. These cities were home to merchants and artisans and were centers of commerce and new wealth. As the Tokugawa period progressed, the wealth of the merchant class grew. Merchants had plenty of money to spend and were an eager market for new clothing styles and forms of entertainment. Thus, this monied class in turn engendered a vibrant, raucous, urban culture, sometimes called *ukiyo*—the "floating world." This term was meant to evoke the fleeting, uncertain nature of life, the need to live life to the fullest, living for the moment, and the pursuit of self-interest and the accumulation of wealth. Such an orientation toward life presented a striking contrast to the selfless, Confucian ideals that were supposed to guide Tokugawa Japan's upper classes.

This energetic and unbridled urban culture was a significant reflection of the growing influence of the townspeople—particularly the merchant class—in Tokugawa Japan. The popular urban art—the woodblock prints, popular novels and short stories, and the *kabuki* and *bunraku* theaters of the cities—glorified the lives of common people: love affairs,

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life in the pleasure quarters, fortunes made and lost. In technique, style, and subject matter, the popular culture of the Tokugawa cities adhered to few formal conventions, rules, or ethical codes.

Popular culture presented both a striking contrast and a challenge to the arts and entertainment endorsed by the government and patronized by the ruling class of samurai. High culture—like the work of Hoitsu (Lesson 5 of this unit) and the artistry of the palanquin (Lesson 2)—was prescribed and monitored by the Tokugawa government to fulfill government goals. High culture was the art of the ruling class and was meant to reflect refinement and the classical cultures of China and ancient Japan as it embodied Confucian values and ideals. In the high arts, subject, media, color, and composition were all carefully prescribed to adhere to formal conventions. The art and entertainment of the townspeople and the floating world flew in the face of government prescriptions and reflected much of what the Tokugawa government tried to deny and suppress—the vibrant, undisciplined ways of life and changing status of the urban classes.

C4

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Answer Keys for Lesson 3

Handout 3A:

1. *Many of the noxious things to be avoided in the pursuit of wealth are similar to the actions and behaviors warned against in Tokugawa government documents studied in Lesson 2 of this unit. For example, the rich man warns the aspiring millionaire to avoid expensive silken clothing, private palanquins, a craze for tea ceremony, and other "upper class" arts. These are many of the same luxuries that the Tokugawa government reserved for the upper classes—the samurai. The remedy for achieving wealth includes a warning not to put on airs and act as if one were from the upper classes when one was not.*

In his list of noxious things, the rich man also cautions strongly against wasting time and money. His warning reflects a strong ethic of hard work. In his warning against doing things not appropriate to one's class and his advice to work hard, the rich man in the story is reflecting Confucian teachings.

2. *Answers will vary.*

3. *The author is speaking through the rich man who prescribes a remedy for poverty. His prescription boils down to ambition, cleverness, hard work, frugality and careful savings for old age, avoidance of wasteful luxuries and pastimes, and dedication to family. See the last three paragraphs of the story for specific references.*

Handout 3B:

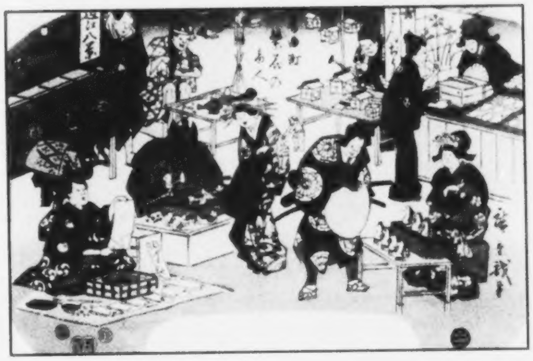
1. *Cynical references to wealth and social mores:*

- *page 2, paragraph 1: "New Year's Eve . . . is worth a thousand* ryō *of gold";*
- *page 2, paragraph 3: "When the narrow-minded people who have lived a long time in Kyoto or Osaka move to Edo, . . . they do not even count their coppers or verify the exact weight of their gold coins. If by mischance a coin or short weight is taken in, it is merely passed along to the next fellow with no further ado. Since money is forever changing hands anyhow, why make a fuss about it?";*
- *page 2, paragraph 4: "There's nothing in the world that works like money.";*
- *page 3, top paragraph: "the Mount of Everlasting Prosperity."*

2. *Saikaku seems more cynical about the great wealth and luxury of Tokugawa Japan by the second story.*

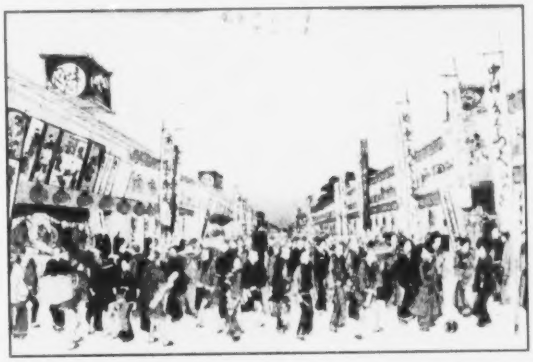
Slide Script for Lesson 3

Slide 3A: "Thriving Merchants in Ongyoku-machi," by Hiroshige. This scene from a fan shows merchants in an urban commercial district. Identify some of the products being sold. How does this scene compare to the scenes depicted in Saikaku's short story on the prosperous shops of Edo? Look at the clothing worn by the merchants' customers to identify which social class they come from. How does the artist convey the life and energy of this commercial district?



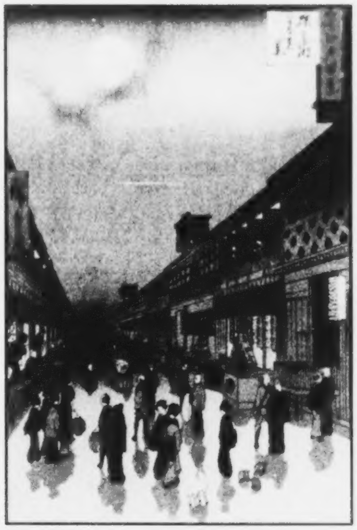
Published by Ibasen, ca. 1852.

Slide 3B: "Crowds in the Theater Quarter," from the series *Famous Places of the Eastern Capital*, by Hiroshige. In this print, market stalls fill the Asakusa Temple grounds in Edo. The crowding together of various elements creates this print's appeal. Even when he pictures the crush of crowds in the market place, as he does here, Hiroshige conveys an overall mood that is virtually always one of quietness. This print is unusual in that it depicts a scene of tumultuous activity.



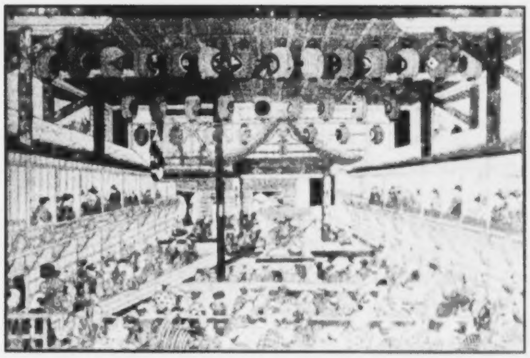
Published by Yamamoto, ca. 1845.

Slide 3C: "Night Scene in Saruwaka-chō," from the series *Famous Places in Edo: A Hundred Views*, by Hiroshige. A theater district in Asakusa in Edo. Scaffolds on the roofs of the right-hand buildings are theater signs. On the left are tea houses.



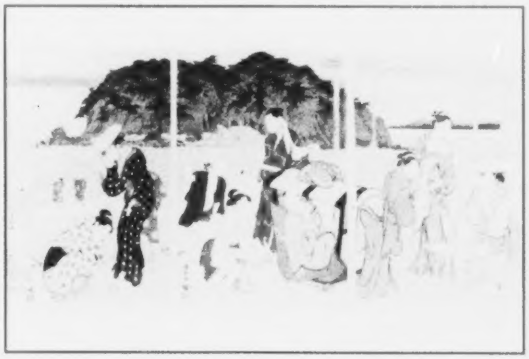
Published by Uoei, 1856-59.

Slide 3D: A large ukiyo-e depicting the kabuki stage at Nakamura-za during the Kaomise Performance of 1740, by Okumura Masanobu. This print depicts Ichikawa Ebizō II, a famous actor, in a kabuki performance. This print shows the theater, the crowded spectators' gallery, and the stage itself. How does the artist use color and composition to create a mood? What mood is reflected here?



Philadelphia Museum of Art: Given by Mrs. Henry Labarre Jayne.

Slide 3E: "Visitors to Enoshima," by Torii Kiyonaga. This triptych, or three-paneled woodblock print, depicts townspeople—probably courtesans—taking a day's vacation at a nearby beach.



Spaulding Collection, Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

A Dose of What the Doctor Never Orders

Note: Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693), himself a townsman, was one of the first Japanese to write of the lives and interests of the people of urban Japan. In this story, the author reflects the thinking of many successful merchants of the time—that poverty was like an illness and could easily be cured. Wealth, like good health, was what any townsperson might aspire to.

For each of the four hundred and four bodily ailments celebrated physicians have produced infallible remedies, but the malady which brings the greatest distress to mankind—to even the wisest and cleverest of us—is the plague of poverty.

"Is there a treatment to cure this?" a poor man asked a gentleman of great wealth.

"My dear fellow," the rich man replied, "if you have lived till now without knowing such things, you have wasted precious years.

"In matters of health the best time to take preventive measures is before you reach the wrong side of forty, and you have left this consultation until rather late. However, I observe certain factors which may yet pull you through—your custom of wearing deerskin socks, for example, and bamboo clogs with thick leather soles. If that indicates your approach to life, we may even make a moderately rich man out of you. I have, it so happens, an excellent nostrum called 'The Millionaire Pill,' and I shall give you the prescription:

Early rising	5 parts
The family trade	20 parts
Work after hours	8 parts
Economy	10 parts
Sound health	7 parts

"Grind the ingredients thoroughly, use common sense to get the proportions correct, mix carefully, swallow, and inwardly digest twice daily—and there is no reason why you should not become a millionaire. However, during treatment it is imperative to abstain from certain noxious things:

Ihara Saikaku, *The Japanese Family Storehouse or the Millionaires' Gospel Modernised.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959, pp. 59-63. Reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press.

(1) Expensive foods, expensive women, silken suits for day-to-day wear.

(2) Private palanquins for wives; private lessons in music or poemcards for eligible daughters.

(3) A professor of percussion for the sons of the house.

(4) Kickball, miniature archery, perfume appreciation, and poetry gatherings.

(5) A craze for the tea ceremony, and for remodeling the best rooms on tea principles.

(6) Flower-viewing, boating excursions, baths in the middle of the day.

(7) Evenings out with friends, gambling parties, playing *go* or backgammon.

(8) Classes for townsmen in sword-drawing and dueling.

(9) Temple-going, and preoccupation with the next world.

(10) Getting involved in others' troubles, and standing surety.

(11) Lawsuits over reclaimed land, and meddling in new mining projects.

(12) Sake with supper, excessive pipe-smoking, unnecessary journeys to Kyoto.

(13) Backing sumō contests for charity, and giving too generously to temple funds.

(14) Carving knickknacks during business hours, and collecting fancy sword accessories.

(15) Familiarity with kabuki actors, and with brothel quarters.

(16) Borrowing money at a monthly rate of more than eight in the thousand *momme*.[1]

"All these things are more deadly than blister-fly drugs or arsenic. I need hardly say, of course, that to taste any one of them is fatal—but the very idea of them must never enter your head."

He bent close to his questioner's ear—a little ear, full of the promise of poverty—and the man listened enraptured, accepting every word as a drop of pure gold. He resolved to follow this wealthy person's advice, and to work unremittingly from morn till night.

But this was Edo, unfortunately, where the competition would be stiff in whatever trade he chose. He would do well to select some line of business which was a little out of the ordinary. With this in mind, seeking inspiration, he stood for one whole day, from early dawn, at the southern end of Nihon Bridge. Truly, this was the place where all the provinces of Japan rubbed shoulders. The bridge was a mountain which moved, and no crowds at the Gion festival in Kyoto, nor at Osaka's Temma carnival, were ever more tightly packed. Day after day brought new prosperity to Edo, and age after age the power of its lord and the breadth of its highways grew. But even this great road of Tōri-chō, recently widened to twenty-four yards from side to side, was already too narrow. On the bridge itself, at any moment of the day he might have counted at least one horseman, one priest, and one halberdier. But no one dropped anything of value, and screw his eyes though he might, he could not detect a single *zeni*[2]. Reflecting on this, he came to appreciate the true value of the coin: it was not a thing to be lightly spent.

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[1] a unit weight for coins, approximately 1/10 ounce

"The only way is to try luck at a trade," he told himself. "But if you start with empty hands these days—unless you're a wrestling instructor or a midwife—there's no hope of making money. I've never heard of a *koban*[3] nor even a zeni sprouting from seedless soil. Can there be no way of making something out of nothing, I wonder?"

He was still looking about him and racking his brains when, back from the day's work at the various daimyō mansions, walking in their separate groups—now two hundred, now three hundred strong—came a procession of carpenters and roof thatchers, chattering loudly and discordantly, sidelocks falling over ears, heads comically disheveled, kimonos dirty at the collar, waistbands tied outside their coats, sleeves frayed at the cuff. . . . Most walked with hands in pockets and shoulders hunched. He needed no sign board to tell him their employment. Behind them they had apprentice boys to carry shavings and wood-ends, but if precious scraps of cypress were dropped and wasted, no one bothered. It must indeed be the castle-town of castle-towns, he thought, where even workmen are as liberal as daimyō. Keeping his eyes about him and picking up the dropped pieces one by one, he followed along from the Surugachō crossroads to Sujikai Bridge in Kanda, and in that distance collected as much as he could safely carry in one load across his shoulders. He sold the pieces just as they were, and made a clear profit of two hundred and fifty zeni. It irked him to think that he had overlooked till now opportunities which lay at his very feet, and every day thereafter, waiting impatiently for nightfall, he kept a lookout for the homeward-bound carpenters and picked up whatever they left in their wake. His catch was never less than five full loads. On days when it was too wet to do anything else he carved the wood scraps into chopsticks, and then sold them wholesale to the grocers' stores in Suda-chō and Setomono-chō. He became famous along Kamakura bank as Chopstick Jimbei, and gradually acquired a considerable fortune. Later, when the scraps in which he dealt had grown to trees, he bought a large mansion in Timber Merchants' block, where he employed more than thirty clerks alone, and he bought up forest land no less extensive than the holdings of Kawamura, Kashiwagi, or Fushimiya. Next—his ambition boundless as the ocean, his fortune's sails set square to the winds of trade—he stocked his timber yard and tall ships' masts, and sold them all at prices merchants dream about. In a mere forty years he made a hundred thousand *ryō*[4]. All this as the result of taking millionaire pills in his younger days.

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[2] coins with square holes, made of copper, iron, or brass and of low value
[3] standard gold coin equalling one ryō

Now that he was well past his seventieth year he judged that a little relaxation of the treatment would do no harm, and for the first time in his life he changed into a complete outfit of Hida homespun silk, and even cultivated a taste for the marine delicacies of Shiba. On his way back from regular morning worship at Nishi Honganji temple in Tsukiji he dropped in at theaters in Kobiki-chō, and in the evenings he played go at home with groups of friends. While snow fell outside he held social gatherings to mark the opening of the winter's first tea jars, and as soon as the early daffodils were in bloom he set out tasteful flower arrangements in the impressionist manner. Exactly when he had learned all these refinements is not clear—but money makes everything possible.

There are people who draw no distinction between the beginning and the end, and who remain close-fisted all their lives; but Jimbei, who knew that even if he saved a Mount Fuji of silver his body was nevertheless destined to be smoke above Hashiba and dust on Musashi plain, had wisely set aside a portion for his declining days, and with this he thoroughly enjoyed himself. When he reached eighty-eight all who knew of his good fortune begged him to cut them lucky bamboo rice-levels and to choose names for their new-born children. At last, weary of the ways of men, craving no further earthly honors, he died as a saint might die, in a spiritual state conducive to the immediate attainment of Nirvana, and people felt all the more admiration and envy at the thought that he might fare no worse in the next world than in this.

The golden rule for men is to save in youth and spend in old age. It is impossible to take your money to heaven, and it is essential to have it on earth.

Study Guide:

1. In this story, a rich man prescribes a remedy for poverty. In so doing, he lists 16 "noxious" (poisonous) things that must be avoided in the pursuit of wealth. How does this list of "don'ts" compare to the Tokugawa government's rules of behavior for samurai and merchant classes? Does the rich man seem to agree with some of the Tokugawa rules and restrictions? Explain.

2. Select three of the noxious things warned against by the rich man and explain why each of these behaviors might keep a person in Tokugawa Japan from obtaining wealth.

3. Explain in your own words the author's prescription for achieving wealth. That is, how does the author think a wealthy man should act? How should such a man conduct his life?

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[4] the smallest unit of currency in the Tokugawa period

The Perennially Prosperous Shops of Edo

Note: This story was written by Ihara Saikaku towards the end of his career. From his collection This Scheming World, *this story takes place around New Year's Day, a major Japanese holiday and a time when it was the custom to settle all the year's debts and obligations. The story creates a vivid image of the affluent and luxurious pastimes and ways of life enjoyed by many in the cities of Tokugawa Japan. But there is also a cynical edge to the author's writing on people's preoccupation with money.*

In the streets of Edo, peace reigns abroad, and people from all over the land are eager to do business there. Shops of every variety are open for business, and never a day passes but goods from every province in the country are shipped in by boat and packed in on the backs of thousands of horses. No further proof is needed that there is an abundance of gold and silver in the world, and it would be a pity indeed if a merchant were unable to lay hands on at least a bit of it.

From December 15 onward, Tori Street, with its prosperous establishments, looks exactly like a treasure mart. Ordinary things for daily use are pushed aside in favor of goods displayed only at the New Year's season: battledores and shuttlecocks, mallets of good fortune inlaid with silver and gold, and similar luxuries. Even a miniature bow sells for two *ryō*[1] of gold, for in Edo not only the lords but also the townspeople are extremely openhanded.

Along every street the stalls that are set up are doing a brisk business. Copper coins flow like currents of water, while silver piles up like drifting snow. Visible in the distance is Mt. Fuji, rising in all its magnificence against the horizon, while the footsteps of people streaming across Nihon Bridge sound exactly like the passage of thousands of wagons along the highway. Every morning fish are sold in such quantities in the Funa Street market that one may well wonder whether or not the supply in the seas surrounding our fair islands has been exhausted.

Every day to the vegetable market of Suda Street in Kanda are brought such quantities of radishes by thousands of pack horses that it seems as though the very radish fields themselves were moving into town. So high are the heaps of red peppers in baskets that although we are in the province of Musashi, we can well imagine ourselves to be gazing down from the top of Mt. Tatsuta in all its autumnal glory. The wild ducks for sale in Earthenware and Malt Streets appear like black clouds descended to earth. All along Hon-machi Street the drapers display particolored cloth of scattered designs, whose patterns originated alike with warriors' wives and ladies' maids. Some depict scenes in springtime, others those in summer, and still others those in autumn and winter. One can enjoy the sights of all the four seasons there at once. Again, in the dry-goods shops of Temma Street the cotton goods remind one of the snow on Toshino at dawn. When evening comes, lanterns are hung up in shop fronts, casting their light out into the street. New Year's Eve, the time when merchants make their largest transactions in a single evening, is worth a thousand ryō of gold.

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[1] a unit of currency in the Tokugawa period

From *This Scheming World* by Ihara Saikaku. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1965, pp. 126-128. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.

As for *tabi*[2] and *geta*[3], the artisans of Edo habitually wait to purchase them last of all, just before the New Year begins to dawn. But one year it happened that not even a single sock or a solitary shoe was to be found for sale in all of Edo. As might have been anticipated, in the greatest city of Japan the demand was for thousands of pairs. Whereas in the early evening the price of a pair of geta was only seven or eight *bu*[4], after midnight it rose to one *momme*[5] and two or three bu, and by dawn it had soared to two and a half momme. Even at this price, although there would have been buyers, there were no sellers.

Another year, a couple of small porgies were priced at eighteen momme; still another year, a single decorative orange cost two bu. Despite such fancy prices, people of Edo did not refrain from buying them. In Kyoto and Osaka, on the contrary, people won't buy things even by chance if the price is exorbitant. It has well been said of Edoites that they are lordly-minded. When narrow-minded people who have lived a long time in Kyoto or Osaka move to Edo, they find themselves so adapting to the spirit of Edo that in time they do not even count their coppers or verify the exact weight of their gold coins. If by mischance a coin of short weight is taken in, it is merely passed along to the next fellow with no further ado. Since money is forever changing hands anyhow, why make a fuss about it?

On about the 17th or 18th of December in the shops of the money carriers can be seen heaps of silver and gold, shining bright as ever. No one can tell how many times a year that money will be travelling between Edo and Kyoto or Osaka. There's nothing in the world that works like money. Yet even with all this money, there are still people who have to face the coming of the New Year without a single gold coin in hand—even in Edo.

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[2] foot coverings, like socks, worn with geta
[3] traditional shoe made of wooden platform and thong
[4] a unit of currency smaller than either a momme or ryō
[5] a unit of weight for coins, approximately 1/10 ounce

As regards New Year's presents, the usual ones are swords (not real ones), kimono,[6] sake,[7] fish, or boxes of candles. Each of them gives promise of a spring that will last forever. Even the gate pines before each home symbolize the first stage in the ascent of that Mount of Everlasting Prosperity. And so, as over the Evergreen Bridge the New Year dawns in a calm and cloudless sky, the sun sheds its beneficent beams over all.

Study Guide:

1. Review this brief story to locate places in which the author presents some cynicism about the preoccupation with money and wealth in urban Tokugawa society. Underline phrases and statements that reflect a critical or cynical attitude towards this preoccupation with wealth. Also underline places where the author pinpoints questionable values or morals on the part of this society.

2. How does the author's message about money in this story compare to his message in "A Dose of What the Doctor Never Orders"? What comment do you think Saikaku might have been making about the way society was changing?

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[6] traditional Japanese wrap-around garment
[7] rice wine

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4

Tokugawa Art: An Inquiry Lesson

Introduction: As students have seen in previous lessons, the official class structure did not match the reality of a changing society during the Tokugawa period. As the samurai class grew impoverished, the merchant class in the emerging urban marketplace grew increasingly wealthy. Art of the Tokugawa period reflects the growing gap between the formal rules and restrictions of elite society and the vibrancy of the new town culture. In this inquiry lesson, students analyze two works of art by artists of the period: the first, by Hoitsu, is an example of the government-endorsed art of the upper classes; the second, by Hokusai, exemplifies the new art of the urban society. In Lessons 5 and 6 students have the opportunity to examine works by both artists in greater depth.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Identify similarities and differences between two distinct styles of art.

2. Synthesize, demonstrate, and test their knowledge of the Tokugawa class structure.

Materials: Handout 4A; Slides 4A and 4B; slide projector and screen

Time required: 1 class period

Procedure:

1. Tell students that in this lesson they will see and analyze two works of art from the Tokugawa period. Each is an image of autumn; but the works each have their own distinct style.

2. Distribute Handout 4A. Direct students' attention to Part A of the handout, a retrieval chart; review categories with the class to help them focus their attention during viewing. Ask students to use the chart to quickly jot down their impressions of the two works of art as they view the slides. Possible responses are provided in the answer key on page 85.

3. Show Slide 4A, Hoitsu's *Maple Tree Screen*, giving students time to write down their observations. Then, show Slide 4B, Hokusai's *Tama River in Autumn*, again allowing time for students to write their observations.

4. Debrief the slide viewing by conducting a short class discussion of the two

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images. The following questions may guide discussion. Record student ideas on the board or on an overhead transparency.

- What similarities do you see in the images? *Both images have autumn as their subject; both contain autumn leaves. Both images have writing in them; we may suppose that some of that writing is the artist's signature.*

- What differences do you see? *Hokusai portrays people in a landscape; Hoitsu does not include people, nor does he portray a realistic landscape. Hokusai's image incorporates lively colors and movement—of people, water, and of leaves in the water. Hoitsu's image is more subdued and "frozen" looking; he does not portray movement in this work. Hokusai includes more writing in his image—it stands out from the image and may be a description of the scene.*

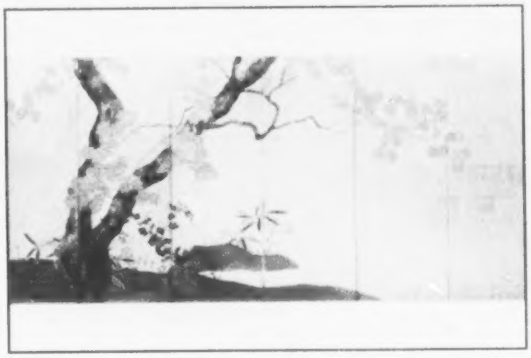
- How do you think each image was produced by the artist? *Hoitsu's work appears to be painted on several panels. The background is gold, and may be gold leaf. Students may or may not be able to guess that Hokusai's work is a woodblock print; each color was applied separately to form the final, multi-colored image.*

5. In pairs or small groups, allow students time to discuss and develop answers to the two questions on Handout 4A, Part B. Students should support their responses with facts about Tokugawa society. An answer key is provided on page 85.

6. Ask groups to present their arguments. Record their ideas on the overhead transparency or chalkboard. After students have shared their ideas, you may lead into the next two lessons by informing students that in the next days' lessons, they will see other examples of art by Hoitsu and Hokusai and find out more about each one's artistic style and role in Tokugawa society and culture.

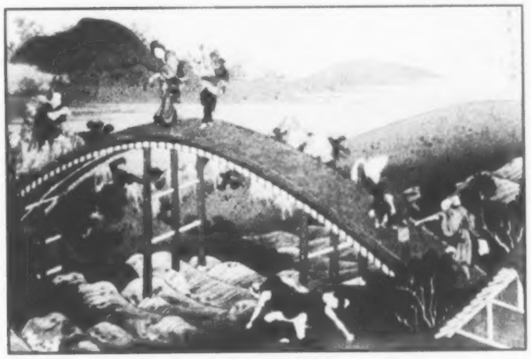
Slides for Lesson 4

Slide 4A: Maple tree screen, by Hoitsu.
Ink color and gold on paper.



Courtesy of the Denver Art Museum. Loan from John and Celeste Fleming.

Slide 4B: "The Tama River in Autumn," by Hokusai.



Photograph © 1993, The Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection, woodblock print, c. 1835, 26 x 37.2 cm 1928.1094. All Rights Reserved.

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Answer Key for Lesson 4

Handout 4A:

Tokugawa Art: An Inquiry

Part A. Retrieval Chart

	How is nature portrayed?	How are people portrayed?	What mood does the image convey?	Describe the artist's use of color
Hoitsu, *Maple Tree Screen*	*autumn leaves as decoration, formal, still, not moving, exquisite, reduced to a few details, not the whole subject, implies or suggests the rest of the scene, but does not show it (see cut-off edges)*	*no people portrayed*	*stillness, quiet, awe, contemplation (as if to encourage quiet contemplation of beauty)*	*bright* *elegant*
Hokusai, *Tama River in Autumn*	*as part of landscape, somewhat realistically, alive, moving (as in water), both near and far*	*in motion, within a landscape; somewhat cartoon-like; shown at work at humble tasks (carrying loads); doing silly things (drunken samurai)*	*activity, liveliness, humor*	*lively, bright, vivid*

Part B. Forming hypotheses

1. Based on what you know about Tokugawa society, which of the two images is an example of art for the upper classes? Why? *Students may be able to identify Hoitsu's work as an example of art for the upper class because of the expensive-looking gold leaf in the background and because of its formal, elegant appearance.*

2. Which do you think is an example of art for the merchant (lower) class? Why? *Students may be able to identify Hokusai's work as an example of art for the lower classes because of its livelier nature and its incorporation of people who are obviously not members of the upper classes. Students may also recognize that the samurai depicted here are inebriated: They must hold on to each other to get over the bridge.*

Tokugawa Art: An Inquiry

Part A. Retrieval Chart

	How is nature portrayed?	How are people portrayed?	What mood does the image convey?	Describe the artist's use of color
Hoitsu, *Maple Tree Screen*				
Hokusai, *Tama River in Autumn*				

Part B. Forming hypotheses

1. Based on what you know about Tokugawa society, which of the two images is an example of art for the upper classes? Why?

2. Which do you think is an example of art for the merchant (lower) class? Why?

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5 Hoitsu: A Samurai Artist

Introduction: In Lesson 4, students were introduced briefly to Sakai Hoitsu, an artist whose work reflected the classical styles and tastes of the ruling class in the Tokugawa period. Hoitsu's artwork was probably commissioned and displayed by members of the samurai class or by very wealthy *chōnin* (townspeople of the merchant and artisan classes) who admired aristocratic art traditions and, perhaps, wanted to imitate that taste in their own lives. In this lesson, students examine Hoitsu as an upholder of a classical Japanese artistic tradition: one who recreated an art style from the past and often depicted one of the most loved subjects in the history of Japanese art—the plants and trees that reflect the changing of the seasons. Note: In Japan, artists and writers are often known by only one name, their given name. This is the case with Hoitsu.

Objectives: Upon completion of the activity, students will be able to:

1. Describe traditional and non-traditional elements within culture, using the United States a case in point.
2. Identify examples of traditional behavior in the artist Hoitsu's life.
3. Create a screen in the traditional style of Hoitsu.

Materials: Handouts 5A and 5B; Slides 5A through 5D; slide projector and screen; white butcher paper, paints, brushes

Time required: 2 class periods

Procedure:

1. To introduce this lesson, you may use contemporary American society as an example to discuss with students the idea of traditional behavior versus non-traditional behavior. First, define or have students define the two terms, traditional and innovative. Possible definitions include:

- *Traditional behavior*: a behavior or custom that is followed by a people continuously from generation to generation; a time-honored practice; an inherited or established way of thinking, feeling, or doing.
- *Non-traditional behavior*: behavior characterized as something new, something that deviates from established practice or tradition.

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2. Ask students to analyze contemporary American culture to determine if it is more traditional or non-traditional in its orientation. On the board or an overhead transparency write the two headings, Traditional and Non-traditional. Have students brainstorm and compile two lists of evidence to support American culture as traditional or non-traditional. Discuss the compiled lists. Do students think American culture can be characterized as more traditional, non-traditional, or a mixture of both?

Possible evidence for traditional culture:

- use of names from past family or cultural history;
- celebration of historical events from the past (e.g., Thanksgiving, Fourth of July);
- signs of preservation and exploration of history (e.g., history museums, or popular books and films about the past such as *Roots, JFK, Glory*);
- the value placed on things that belonged to earlier family members (e.g., photos, furniture).
- looking back on "good old days"—the past as better than the present.

Possible evidence for non-traditional culture:

- use of slang and language that shows disrespect for the past (e.g., "he's history now," "that's just ancient history");
- preference for new hairstyles or clothing that are shocking breaks with the past (e.g., "punk" hairstyles, contemporary athletic shoes);
- prevalence of youthful ideals for beauty and handsomeness;
- positive associations for terms like "new," "modern," "up to date";
- popularity of movies about the future (e.g., *Star Trek*);
- idea that history is progressive (that each period is an improvement over the past one).

At the end of the discussion, introduce the idea that all cultures have elements that may be categorized as traditional or non-traditional but that Japan, in general, is known as a culture that greatly respects and preserves tradition. Remind students that the Tokugawa period was a time of peace and stability, with a government that valued and sought to preserve the status quo rather than promote change. However, even during this period, there was a great deal of change.

3. Introduce Sakai Hoitsu, known by his given name Hoitsu, as a traditional,

classical artist of the Tokugawa period. Use Handout 5A as student background reading or as the basis for a lecture to relate some of the details of Hoitsu's life story that emphasize his way of respecting Japan's past.

4. Based on the information in Handout 5A, ask students to cite evidence from Hoitsu's life which indicates his respect for tradition. *Students should be able to list Hoitsu's love of traditional upper class pastimes—writing poetry, painting, and performing the tea ceremony; his reverence for nature; and his appreciation for Korin, an earlier artist.*

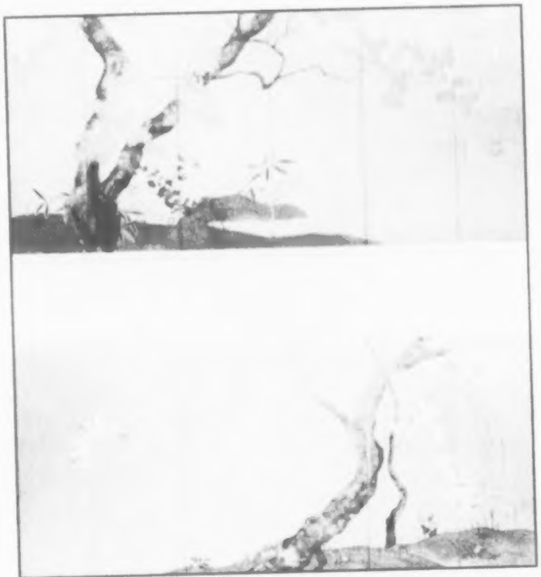
5. Show Slides 5A through 5D. Tell students that these slides represent two folding screens in which Hoitsu depicted the seasons as they had traditionally been presented in Japanese painting and poetry. Read the slide script on pages 93-95 as you present the slides.

6. After students have viewed the slides, ask them to identify the common elements in the screens. *Students should note that each screen is made up of multiple panels; each is decorated with an object from nature which has symbolic meaning; each has a large, almost empty background, sometimes decorated with gold leaf.*

7. As an evaluation activity, students may design a screen in the style of Hoitsu's art. Handout 5B may be distributed to provide students with additional background on the history of Japanese screens.

For the activity, students should select either summer or winter as the subject of their screens. They may then choose an object from nature that they feel best captures the essence of winter or summer. Students may work individually or in groups of three to create three-panel screens using three pieces of butcher paper. Each individual or group should also write a short description of the screen, explaining the subject matter, artistic style, and significance of this work. When students have completed their screens, display them in the classroom, and have students explain their work.

Slide Script for Lesson 5

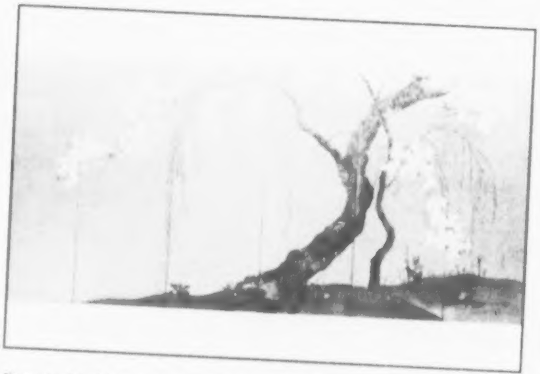


Denver Art Museum, gift of John and Celeste Fleming. A pair of six-fold screens, color and gold on paper.

Slide 5A: Cherry and maple trees, by Hoitsu, early 1800s. In brilliant colors on a background of gold leaf (sheets of gold pounded as thin as tissue paper), Hoitsu decorated these two folding screens with the classic, traditional Japanese symbols of spring and fall—cherry blossoms and red maple leaves. Free-standing folding screens like this, called *byōbu*, were used to separate large interior castle rooms into smaller more intimate spaces. The gold background helped to brighten dark rooms by reflecting light.

For the ruling elite who used such screens, these subjects were more than pictures of spring and fall. For the samurai class, educated in the Confucian classics and Japanese traditional poetry and literature, the pictures of the seasons evoked the many poems and paintings about the beauty offall and spring created during a thousand years of Japanese history. The screens might have brought to mind the ancient Japanese imperial court custom of viewing spring and autumn foliage, when courtiers traveled to sites famous for their foliage, wrote seasonal poems on slips of paper, and left them attached to the trees.

Equally important, samurai viewers would have noticed the contrast of these two paintings—one with brilliant shades of red and one done in delicate shades of white and pink. Spring and fall are sharply contrasting seasons emphasizing the beginning and ending of life; but they are also both seasons of rapid change when the most beautiful sights will last only a short time. There is a long history in Japan of special love and sensitivity to perishability or to the effects of the passage of time. In traditional Japanese thought and art, the most beautiful things were the things that did not last. The sadness one might feel looking at an exquisite scene about to change made the experience even more moving.



Denver Art Museum, gift of John and Celeste Fleming. Color and gold on paper.

Slide 5B: Cherry tree screen. Even today in Japan, the tradition of excursions to view cherry blossoms continues. At the peak of the season, holidays may be declared during which families and school groups visit sites famous for their blossoms. The flowering cherry is one of the oldest known flowers in Japan. It blooms very briefly and then its blossoms fall and scatter. In this painting, the cherry tree has some cherry buds and many fully blossomed flowers. There are also willow branches with tender young leaves. Viewers from Hoitsu's time could look at such a scene and think about what would come next—the blossoms falling and being swept away by spring breezes.

For a person knowledgeable about classical Japanese literature, such as a samurai, this painting might bring to mind poems from the first official collection of Japanese poetry compiled in 905 A.D.:

> This perfectly still
> Spring day bathed in the soft light
> From the spread-out sky
> Why do the cherry blossoms
> So restlessly scatter down?
> —Ki no Tomonori
>
> Although I am sure
> That he will not be coming
> In the evening light
> When the locusts shrilly call
> I go to the door and wait.
> —Anonymous[1]

In these poems, the speakers are responding to the beauty of spring. In the second poem, seasonal beauty is juxtaposed against the shortness of life and the loneliness a woman feels as she waits for a lover to arrive. For Hoitsu's viewer, the sight of his cherry blossom painting might also bring to mind this feeling of loneliness and waiting.

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[1] From the *Kokinshū* or *Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems*, translated in Donald Keene, ed., *Anthology of Japanese Literature*. New York: Grove Press, 1955, p. 80.

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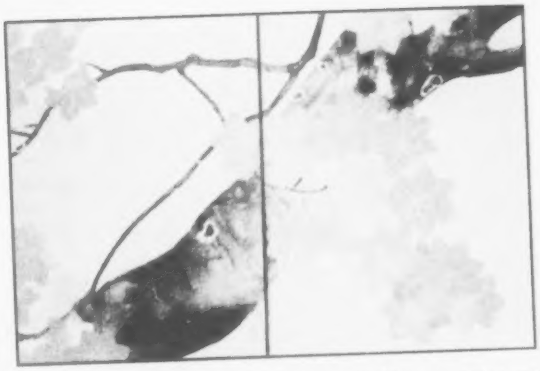
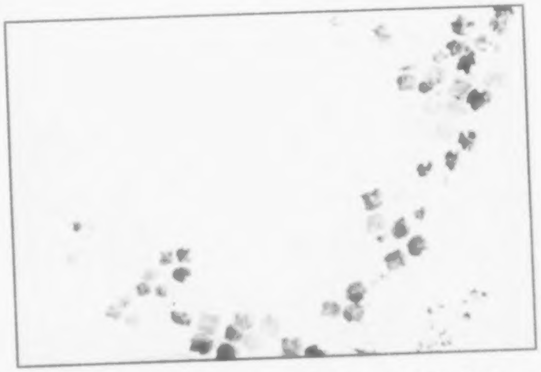


Denver Art Museum, gift of John and Celeste Fleming. Color and gold on paper.

Slide 5C: Detail of Hoitsu's maple tree screen. In Hoitsu's maple tree screen, there is specific evidence of how Hoitsu imitated the classical Japanese artists he so admired. In the bark of the tree, the water colors were applied in a method called *tarashikomi*, or "dropping into," in which the artists put paint on a section of the paper that was already wet with earlier paint. When wet paint is put on wet paint, the colors run into each other in ways that are hard to control. The artist might tilt the entire painting one way and then another to get the colors to mix in ways he wants. Tarashikomi is a very challenging technique that Ogata Korin, an earlier artist Hoitsu researched and admired, used with great skill.

In this screen, tarashikomi is used to show fungus on the tree bark. Although this part of the painting is not as noticeable as the red leaves, Hoitsu's patrons, as sophisticated, educated, upper-class people, would be familiar with the method and might be more captivated and excited by these "duller" and more subtle parts of the painting. Hoitsu was "showing off" by using this method, but he was also showing honor to Ogata Korin.



Denver Art Museum, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick R. Mayer, an anonymous donor, and general acquisition funds. Ink and colors on paper, four-panel screen.

Slide 5D: "Autumn Grasses," by Hoitsu, early 1800s. In addition to depicting fall through flashy red maple leaves, many traditional Japanese paintings show fall in quieter, more subtle plants like the grasses, vines, and flowers shown here.

The grasses in this painting—the tall stalks with very slender bent leaves and tasseled tops in a light orange color—are famous for their graceful beauty and the way they sway in the wind. These grasses may be lush and green in summer, but by fall, as they die, their colors grow duller. Scenes of fall in traditional Japanese painting and poetry are associated with sadness at the passing of summer and coming of winter. These feelings and associations are considered very beautiful or pleasing to the senses. Some say that fall, with its feelings of melancholy, is the most favored season in Japan.

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Handout 5A
Page 1 of 2

Sakai Hoitsu

Sakai Hoitsu was born in 1761 and died in 1828. He lived in the later Tokugawa period at approximately the same time as Hokusai, an artist who depicted the changing society and culture of urban Japan. (See Lesson 6 of this unit.) During this period, Japan was ruled by an educated, hereditary elite—the samurai—who made up about seven percent of the population. Hoitsu's family was part of this traditional elite group. Other members of his family were in high government positions and included daimyō who ruled from Himeji Castle, a famous and still-standing samurai structure. His father was the governor of Bizen Province. Hoitsu's family had been awarded their daimyō status by the first Tokugawa ruler, Tokugawa Ieyasu, for their loyalty and military help in putting the Tokugawa family in power.

Hoitsu's family was part of the upper-samurai class who valued being knowledgeable about the arts. They also owned collections of traditional Japanese art. As a youth, Hoitsu learned traditional martial skills such as archery and fighting with spear and halberd (a weapon consisting of a battle ax and pike on a long handle). He also studied traditional arts such as *noh* theater, dance, and tea ceremony. Hoitsu grew up in a learned and artistic circle. At age 17, Hoitsu was writing traditional poetry and eventually became an expert at painting, performing tea ceremonies, and playing the incense game. All these activities had been pursued by gentlemen of taste in the past and were signs of Hoitsu's respect for the past as well as his interest in beautiful things that pleased the senses.

Given his family background, Hoitsu might have been expected to take a government position. However, when he was 37, Hoitsu dropped his responsibilities for clan and family business and, with permission of the shōgun, began serious study of poetry and painting. By seeking shogunate permission, Hoitsu showed his regard for the social rules of the time. But his decision to leave traditional samurai life behind also reflects the changing role, or loss of a role, for samurai in this period. Eventually he built a painting studio in a small village near Edo. He called his studio "The Rain Flower Hut." Such a name reflects his interest in nature as well as his desire to retire to a place away from the hustle and bustle of government and family business. Both of these interests were important to many Japanese artists of the past and, so, Hoitsu was following a traditional path in his lifestyle as well as in his art works.

In his art, Hoitsu deliberately chose to follow the example of an artist who had lived a century earlier. This earlier artist, Ogata Korin (1658-1716), had also looked to art of the past as a source of inspiration, and then changed that art to suit his own purposes. So, when Hoitsu took Korin as a model from the past, he was linking himself to a continuous chain of artists and acting in a very traditional way, although still moving with the times and giving his art a unique style. Out of admiration for tradition, Hoitsu researched Korin's family genealogy, published a book of different seals or signature stamps Korin used during his life, and published a book of images of paintings by Korin (some from Hoitsu's own family's art collection). He even remodeled and improved the grave marker at Korin's burial site. Hoitsu was instrumental in reviving (even developing) interest in this great artist from the past.

In Korin's and Hoitsu's paintings, the seasons, especially spring and fall, are frequently represented. An artistic emphasis on the seasons dates far back in Japanese history to the aristocratic courtiers who wrote many poems about fall and spring at the imperial court in the Heian period (794-1185)—as much as one thousand years before Hoitsu's time.

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Japanese Screens

Decorated and painted screens have been used extensively in Japan since their introduction from China and Korea in the seventh to eighth centuries A.D. With the evolution of a uniquely Japanese style of architecture employing few permanent walls, movable folding screens assumed an indispensable role in the division, enclosure, and demarcation of space. Screens also provided a flexible, large-scale format that was utilized creatively by many of Japan's greatest painters.

The folding screen or *byōbu* (literally, "protection" or "screen" against "wind") is the most important type of Japanese screen. . . . Early *byōbu* were made up of separately framed panels covered with silk or paper and linked together by leather or silk cords passed through holes near the upper and lower corners of adjacent screens. This method of linking the panels was replaced during the Kamakura period (1185-1333 A.D.) by a system of double paper hinges that join the unframed screen panels securely but inconspicuously along the entire vertical edge.

Since the Kamakura period, all folding screens have followed similar principles of construction, resulting in a light-weight but sturdy and flexible structure. Individual panels are made of layers of paper pasted over a wooden lattice to form a taut, smooth surface, and the panels are joined by paper hinges. The final surface on which the painting is executed may be either paper, or, less commonly, silk. Silk apparently was used more frequently in screens of early date.

Destruction by fire, warfare, and the natural wear of repeated use has left few examples of screens predating the sixteenth century. . . . Among surviving *byōbu*, screens of two, four, or six panels are most numerous, but screens of up to ten panels were occasionally made. The majority of screens were composed as pairs, a custom that may distantly reflect the early formal, ceremonial role of screens. By far the most common format among extant *byōbu* is a pair of six-panel screens. These may treat complementary or related pictorial themes (for example, landscapes of summer on the right-hand screen and winter on the left), or they may form a single monumental composition when placed side by side. . . .

A few Japanese screens are embellished simply with applied gold leaf to form a background for formal occasions. Others are decorated with applied *shikishi* (decorated

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Excerpted from "Japanese Screens." Reprinted by permission of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 20560.

rectangular papers inscribed with poetry), painted fans, or even parts of silk kimonos. However, the majority of screens in private collections and museums bear paintings so admirably adapted to the format that they are appropriately called "screen paintings."

The format of the folding screen presents unique problems for the painter. Early screens exhibit the obvious but expressively limited solution of composing a separate painting on each panel. As early as the Heian period (794-1185 A.D.), however, painters of screens seem to have experimented with treating the panels of a screen as a single composition. The illusion of continuity was usually enhanced by a landscape setting in which hills or bodies of water tended to draw the eye across the disruptive folds of the screen. Technical improvements in screen construction achieved by the fourteenth century, especially the paper-hinging system, had the important artistic consequence of enhancing the illusion of pictorial unity increasingly sought by painters of folding screens.

In striving for integrity of the pictorial composition, the artist had to remain constantly aware of the effects of the angular bending of the screen during normal display. Painters of the most successful screen paintings also took into account the point of view from which the screen would usually be seen. Thus, if a screen were to serve as the background to the formal audiences required by a great warlord, a simple, bold design intelligible from a considerable distance might be most effective, whereas a multitude of detailed narrative scenes might prove more entertaining when enjoyed at closer range. Screens were usually viewed from a seated position on the floor, and the proportions of most screens reflected this practice. Few screens are much taller than five and one-half feet, including their borders and frames. Screens do not usually exceed the height of *fusuma*, the sliding-door panels that would normally surround a room in which screens are displayed. . . .

Since screens required considerable time and skill to construct and decorate, many were produced for specific patrons. Only in later periods did screen production become a commercial activity in which workshops of artisans mass-produced screen paintings for sale. . . .

In the subdued light of the Japanese rooms for which they were intended, screens—especially those covered with gold leaf—have an aura of mystery as light catches and constantly shifts across the surface. More than a thousand years ago, the Heian courtier, Sugawara no Michizane (895-903) appropriately expressed the essence of the *byōbu*: "The characteristic of a byōbu lies in its opening and folding. If you sit surrounded by the byōbu, immediately new worlds emerge around you, and you can enjoy their lasting pleasure."[1]

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[1] Quoted from Elise Grilli, *The Art of the Japanese Screen*. New York and Tokyo: Walker-Weatherhill, 1970, p. 153.

6

Hokusai: An Artist of the People

Introduction: Katsushika Hokusai was an extraordinarily prolific woodblock artist who lived at the end of the Tokugawa period. His life-long passion for creating art reveals something universal about artists and their commitment to their art form. His main subjects—popular places and people—and his main art form—the woodblock print that could be produced in quantity and sold cheaply—reveal important aspects of changing society in the late Tokugawa period. At this time the townspeople, or chōnin, created their own brilliant culture and purchased and commissioned quantities of woodblock prints.

In Part I of this lesson, a brief introduction to Hokusai's woodblock prints, students explore the lives and culture of the urban classes—classes that were growing in numbers and wealth during the Tokugawa period. In Part II, an optional extension activity, students read about the process of woodblock printmaking and apply their knowledge of this popular art form in Tokugawa Japan to create their own woodblock prints. This extension activity is best conducted in cooperation with the art teacher.

Note: Hokusai, like Hoitsu, is known simply by his given name. Interestingly, Hokusai's surname Katsushika is not his family name. It is the name of the place where Hokusai grew up, which he adopted as his surname.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Discuss the life of one representative artist of Tokugawa Japan.

2. Identify aspects of Japan's changing social structure in the Tokugawa period.

3. Identify aspects of popular urban culture in Tokugawa Japan.

4. Draw comparisons between popular art in Tokugawa Japan and popular art in the United States today.

Materials: Handouts 6A through 6C; Slides 6A through 6F; slide projector and screen

Time required: 1-2 class periods

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Procedure:

Part I

1. Provide students with background on Hokusai from Handout 6A. This may be presented as a brief lecture, homework, or an in-class reading. As a class, discuss the question at the end of the handout. *Students should recall that Hoitsu's art was narrowly focused on elegant depictions of nature, produced for the upper class by Hoitsu, an artist of the upper class. Hokusai's work is in marked contrast to that of Hoitsu: Hokusai depicted images from nature, from street scenes, and from his imagination; his buyers included members of the merchant and artisan classes; he himself was a member of the artisan class.*

2. Show the six slides that illustrate Hokusai's woodblocks in chronological order. Read the slide script on pages 105-107 as you show the slides. This script emphasizes the popularity of Hokusai's works among artisans, small shopkeepers, merchants, and low-ranking samurai who made up the population of the city of Edo (modern-day Tokyo). Emphasize the fact that Hokusai's art was popular with the great masses of people rather than with the established elite of daimyō and high-ranking samurai.

3. After viewing the slides of Hokusai's work, lead a discussion to help students understand that the subjects Hokusai chose for his art were a reflection of the tastes and interests of Japanese townspeople—the masses. Hokusai's works reflected popular culture rather than the "high culture" of the educated upper classes of Tokugawa Japan. Popular taste in art in Tokugawa Japan included:

- a desire for images of heroes who were glamorous ideals for common people;
- an appreciation of images from the real, day-to-day world rather than from the past;
- an interest in the most current and fashionable aspects of the society that reflected new fads and amusements;
- a predilection toward new, sometimes shocking, subjects that more conservative classes and society in general might have found anti-social and even ugly.

4. Ask students to look at three of the slides again to consider parallels between the subjects and styles of popular art in Tokugawa Japan and popular art today. Review Slides 6A, 6D, and 6E. Discuss visual images from modern American television, film, print media, literature, painting, and sculpture (to the degree that students are knowledgeable about them) to identify similarities between popular print subjects in Hokusai's Japan and popular visual images in the United States today. This exercise can be done by discussing images that students recall immediately or by assigning students to bring in examples of images for the discussion. Possible parallels, images, and discussion questions for each slide are provided below.

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Slide 6A: The Sumō Wrestlers. *Possible modern parallels should include masculine ideals of physical skill; heroes who are champions in their field; and examples of specialized physical development well suited to their skill or competitive field. Possible images might include body builders and wrestlers.* Some discussion questions for comparisons:

- Why do societies often idealize physical power?
- What other human characteristics are similarly idealized by popular cultures today?
- Are these idealizations—those in the United States today and in Hokusai's Japan—positive or negative? How so?
- How do these idealizations influence society?

Slide 6D: The Great Wave. *Possible modern parallels should include natural monuments of great popularity in the United States; natural monuments that are visited by a great many people who show respect for the natural scene there; and natural monuments that have come to be closely associated with the United States and are even symbols of the United States to people from other countries. Possible images might include Niagara Falls, the Grand Canyon, and the redwood forests of California.* Some discussion questions for comparisons:

- Are the United States' natural monuments also symbols of long life and power? How so?
- Why do such natural features often become associated with power?
- In most popular images of the natural monuments in the United States, do people play a large or small role? Are people dwarfed by nature or do they dominate nature?

Slide 6E: The Ghost of Kohada Koheji. *Possible modern parallels might include images from popular tales of the macabre or the grotesque; images from tales that have an underlying moral message; and images of revenge. Possible images might include books by Stephen King and horror movies.* Some discussion questions for comparisons:

- Why are people attracted to images of the macabre? In Hokusai's Japan? In the United States today?
- Is revenge important in modern stories popular in the United States today? Give examples from films, literature, and television.
- What moral messages might underlie tales of revenge? Are they right or wrong?

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5. Conclude this part of the lesson by asking students to brainstorm about the daily life and culture of Tokugawa townspeople. Students may call out adjectives, phrases, and so on to describe ways of life in urban Japan. Record responses on the board. Ask students to hypothesize how this vibrant urban culture might have created challenges and problems for the Tokugawa government, a government committed to the status quo and to a stable, hierarchical society.

Part II (optional)

1. As an optional extension activity, students may learn more about the history and process of woodblock printmaking in Japan. Arrange to conduct this activity in cooperation with your school's art teacher. Review the printmaking process in Handout 6C with the art teacher in advance.

2. Distribute Handout 6B and have students complete the reading on woodblock printing. Ask a volunteer to explain the printmaking process to the class. Ask another volunteer to explain why this process would make art less expensive and more accessible to a large number of people in Tokugawa Japan.

3. Have students work individually or in small groups in the art room to complete the printmaking project described in Handout 6C.

Additional Resources:

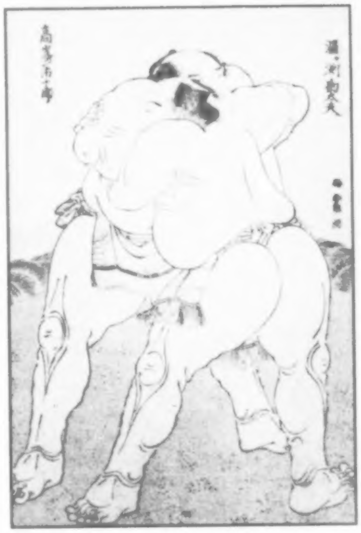
Margaret Miller Kanada, *Color Woodblock Printmaking: The Traditional Method of Ukiyo-e*. Tokyo: Shufunomoto Co., Ltd., 1989.

J. Miller, *The Japanese Print: A New Approach*. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1975.

Doreen Simmons, "The Strong Men of the Sacred Circle," in *Asian Art, Volume IV*, Number 1 (Winter 1991), pp. 47-71.

Laurence Smith, ed., *Ukiyo-e: Images of Unknown Japan*. London: British Museum Publications, 1988.

Slide Script for Lesson 6



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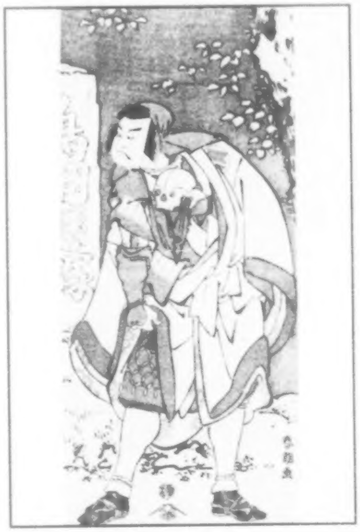
Slide 6A: A sumō wrestling match, by Hokusai, made in 1782. Hokusai created this design when he was still an apprentice. This woodblock print is a good example of his life-long interest in showing his subjects realistically. Here, two very heavy *sumō* wrestlers grip each other in the middle of a ring surrounded by bales of straw.

In the Tokugawa period, sumō wrestlers were considered to be the ultimate in masculinity and good looks, and they enjoyed great popularity. Sumō tournaments usually lasted 10 days, with many popular favorites wrestling to determine the champion. Prints of sumō wrestlers were a popular subject that townspeople readily purchased.

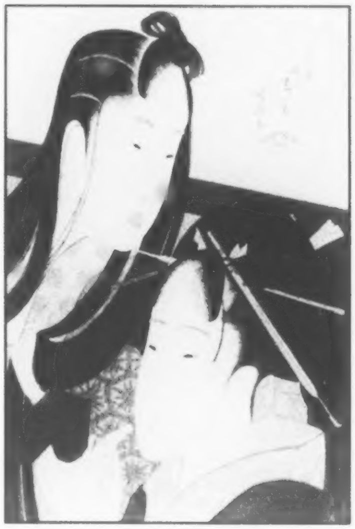


From the Bigelow Collection, Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Slide 6B: The actor Sakata Hangoro III, by Hokusai, made in 1791. The actor in this woodblock print is dressed as a wandering monk and holds a skull as a Buddhist reminder of the inevitability of death. In kabuki plays—a very popular form of theater among Tokugawa townspeople—the actor sometimes froze in a striking, rigid pose like the one shown here, pulling down one side of his mouth and glaring fearsomely. These poses were considered highlights of a play and were frequently represented in prints. As public idols, kabuki actors were paid well. Prints of popular actors in their latest roles sold well from the street stalls of Edo.

The round seal (or stamped signature) between the actor's ankles is a censor's seal indicating government approval for the print to be published. Government censorship was designed to prevent anti-government activities or criticism of the Tokugawa ruling family. The ruling authorities thought that kabuki theater was evil and immoral; kabuki theaters were banished from the central areas of towns and forced into remote neighborhoods. The official social status of actors was like that of the lowest classes. In reality, star actors lived sumptuous lives, surrounded by servants and disciples. Tokugawa laws tried to prevent actors from wearing clothes that were too extravagant. People of the samurai class were prohibited by law from attending kabuki; these laws were frequently broken, however.

Slide 6C: "Girls at Their Toilette," by Hokusai, made about 1798. This woodblock print is from a series of seven prints called *Seven Fashionable Bad Habits*. Here one girl (on the left) has just washed her hair and it hangs over her shoulder. She is also eating a cherry. The other girl (on the right) has almost finished her hairdo and is putting on rouge. Both women are very absorbed in grooming themselves.



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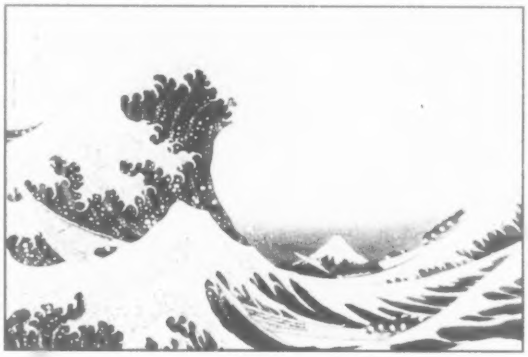
Hairstyles and clothing fashions changed constantly in big cities like Edo. Keeping up-to-date was important for fashionable women. Hokusai depicts two beauties of the 1790s in much admired hairdos of the period; their hair is decorated with fashionable hairpins, ribbons, and small bells. Elongated faces and foreheads and boneless-looking fingers are part of Hokusai's ideal for beautiful women. Hokusai uses a kind of "telephoto" view, zooming in closely on the girls' heads but cutting off their bodies and the rest of the scene in a surprising way. For example, the upper girl's hair and shoulder are cut off at the left.

Slide 6D: "The Great Wave," by Hokusai, made about 1830-31. Hokusai created 46 color woodblock prints in a series that focused on Mt. Fuji, Japan's highest and most sacred mountain. Mt. Fuji—seen in this print on the far horizon—rises to a single isolated cone over 12,000 feet high. Mt. Fuji is a dormant volcano, having last erupted in 1707. For Hokusai, Mt. Fuji probably represented power and long life. It was a popular site for religious pilgrimages, to both the summit and to temples and shrines at its base. Today, Mt. Fuji is a symbol of Japan as a whole.



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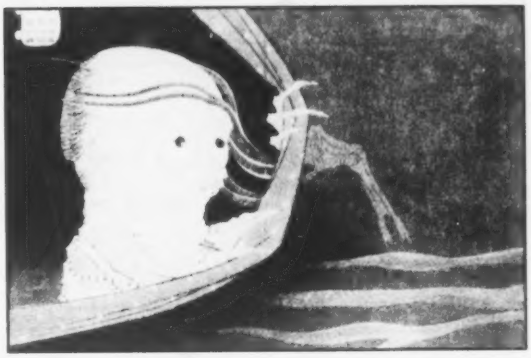
Hokusai was 71 when this print was published. *The Great Wave* is probably now his most popular print and can be seen on t-shirts, posters, and other popular items promoting Japanese tourism. The wave was a recurring symbol in popular Tokugawa art and literature. It represented life's uncertainty and change which were the essence of the urban social world known as "the floating world" because of its fleeting, uncertain nature.

In this print, Hokusai chose to emphasize one suspenseful moment as a huge wave crests and begins to crash down on three cargo boats, with their sailors clinging to their oars. The famous Mt. Fuji towers calmly in the distance. Human beings in this scene have a small role compared to the majestic forces of nature.

Slide 6E: "The Ghost of Kohada Koheji," by Hokusai, made about 1831. By 1831, Hokusai was much in demand as an illustrator of popular tales, which sometimes featured stories of horror and the supernatural. Although these tales might have a moral emphasizing proper human behavior, part of their popularity was rooted in the townspeople's taste for the bizarre and macabre.



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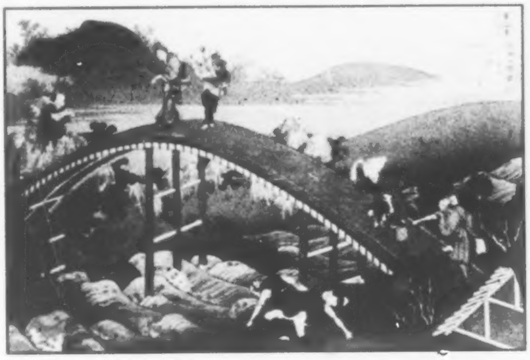
In this print, one of a series that illustrated ghost tales, Hokusai shows a skeleton peering over a mosquito net. This is the ghost of Kohada Koheji, a wandering actor who had been drowned by his wife's lover. The print shows Kohada peering over the net at his sleeping wife and her lover as he prepares to take his revenge.

Slide 6F (also 4B): "The Tama River in Autumn," by Hokusai, made about 1835. Hokusai designed this woodblock print to illustrate an ancient Japanese poem from the 9th century:

> I have never heard
> That, e'en when the gods held sway
> In the ancient days,
> E'er was water bound with red
> Such as here in Tatta's stream
> —Ariwara no Narihira



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The poem is about the red maple leaves that float, each fall, down a river that is famous for its beauty in autumn. In the print, Hokusai seems to be honoring Japan's long history of appreciation for the changing seasons and for the ancient tradition of poets who wrote about the beauty of nature.

There are, however, some humorous references in the print to real life in the Tokugawa period and, perhaps, some ridicule of Tokugawa social traditions. Two lower class peasant couples—one at the top of the bridge and the other entering from the left side—seem focused on the beauty of the stream and its leaves, while the upper-class samurai stepping onto the bridge at the right are drunk and seemingly unaware of the beauty of fall.

In traditional Japanese literature, upper-class people were characterized as being sensitive to the beauty of nature and emotionally moved by fall and its melancholy suggestions of the inevitability of change. Perhaps the townsperson buying this print would enjoy the light ridicule of the samurai upper classes.

Handout 6A
Page 1 of 1

Hokusai: An Artist of the People

Hokusai was a long-lived and prolific artist. He was born in the Japanese capital of Edo in 1760 and died in 1849. He made over 30,000 designs—an average of two works of art for every day of his long life as an artist.

Hokusai was born poor and little is known about his parents, although it is assumed they were of the artisan class. He had a very early interest in art; he received some education and could read and write. In his teens, Hokusai apprenticed to a woodblock engraver, an artisan who took designs from artists and carved them on woodblocks that were then used to print the designs on paper for sale or advertisements. By age 18 he was the student of Katsukawa Shunsho, one of the most celebrated woodblock artists of that time and an artist who specialized in actor portraits.

By 1800, Hokusai had become a famous and popular artist. He painted and was an obsessive sketcher, drawing everything from horses, birds, and cats to people engaged in everyday tasks. Most of his work, however, was in the form of woodblock prints, an inexpensive art form that could be bought by townspeople of the artisan and merchant classes and which reflected their interests and tastes. Hokusai created designs for elaborate greeting cards, souvenir pictures of cities and famous mountains, illustrations for poems and popular novels (including ghost stories), and posters of famous actors, wrestlers, and beautiful women.

When he was in his seventies, Hokusai worked tirelessly on the prints of Mt. Fuji for which he is now most well known. At a time when 50 years was a normal lifespan, Hokusai in his seventies had the vitality to continue producing art—and wrote of what he could achieve at the age of 110 if he could live that long!

Hokusai selected his subjects not only because of their appeal to his own taste and interest but also for their appeal to potential buyers. The people most likely to buy his prints were the townspeople, or *chōnin*, of Edo, the huge thriving capital of Japan in the Tokugawa Period. The chōnin included shopkeepers, artisans, and merchants; they were the lower classes who accepted the authority of the upper-samurai class in most matters. Toward the end of the Tokugawa period, however, the artisan and the merchant classes grew in wealth and samurai control began to weaken. In the early 19th century, when Hokusai was producing his woodblock prints, there was great social restlessness as the popular culture of the lower classes expanded to meet the taste and buying demands of the chōnin.

Question for Discussion:

Compare Hokusai's background, artistic tastes, subject matter, and patrons to those of Hoitsu. How do they differ?

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The Art of the Woodblock Print in Japan

The Japanese woodblock print is a traditional art form dating back to the mid-1600s, Japan's Tokugawa period. Woodblock printing became popular as a way to inexpensively meet the growing demand for artwork by increasingly prosperous merchants and artisans, as well as other urban dwellers. Because printmaking replicates an image many times, it is an effective method for creating visual images at a cost far below that of paintings.

The Printmaking Process

In Japan, woodblock printing has traditionally been a collaborative project requiring the expert contributions of several different artists and master artisans. The print begins as a drawing designed by the artist. The artist also selects the colors and the paper to be used for the print. In Japan, woodblocks are printed on *washi*, a strong but supple paper made from any one of several plant fibers. The process is then turned over to a master woodcarver.

The woodcarving process is divided among a master carver, who carves the most difficult lines, and assistants, who carve remaining lines. The woodcarvers create a separate carved block for each color of the woodblock print. After colors are applied, the paper is placed on one block at a time and rubbed with a brush or pad made of bamboo sheath until all the colors are printed. The beauty of each print depends on the skill of the person who does the rubbing as much as it depends on the artist and the carvers. Shade and depth of color and detail depend on the pressure of the rubbing.

Tokugawa Woodblock Prints

In Japan, woodblock prints were an early popular art form, both in terms of audience and subject matter. At least one art historian has likened this art form to our contemporary poster art and calendar art. During the Tokugawa period, woodblock print artists often took as their subject matter the everyday lives and pastimes of urban dwellers, particularly the lives of geisha, kabuki actors, and other entertainers. Prints with this focus were given the name ukiyo-e, or "pictures of the floating world." In the late Tokugawa period—the 1800s—woodblock print subjects expanded to include landscapes and scenic spots frequented by travelers.

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Multi-color Printmaking Project

Materials needed:

- styrofoam trays with flat, untextured spaces (commonly used by grocery stores in meat packaging or for carry-out food)
- scissors
- three colors of water-based printing ink
- flat surface (glass or metal) to roll out ink with brayer
- brayers (ink rollers)
- white construction paper
- spoons
- newspaper to cover printing area
- paper towels

Procedure:

1. Form working groups of three to four students. Each group should select or create an image for its print design. The design should be simple and require only three colors to print.

2. Use scissors to cut the largest possible smooth and flat area from the styrofoam trays. Each student group needs three equal-sized pieces of styrofoam.

3. Draw print design on paper to equal the size of the styrofoam, making sure that the design is uncomplicated and requires only three colors of ink.

4. Separate the design into three color areas (see Figures A-C of this handout). Choose an ink color for each area.

5. Lay the drawing on one piece of styrofoam and lightly trace the outlines for the first color with a pencil. Use a pencil to press down the remaining areas on the styrofoam tray that should not print in that color.

6. Repeat the process for each of the other two colors on the remaining styrofoam pieces.

7. Lightly draw a pencil line around the edges of one styrofoam tray onto the printing paper. Use the outline to align each styrofoam tray for printing the separate colors.

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8. For each color, roll a small amount of ink over a smooth flat surface to evenly coat the brayer. Roll the brayer on the styrofoam until it is evenly coated with ink. If any undesired areas are colored, clean the styrofoam area and press with a pencil, then re-ink.

9. Lay the styrofoam tray face down onto the paper, lining it up with the pencil outline. Carefully flip the paper and tray over without moving the tray. Rub evenly over the raised areas with a spoon. Lift the paper from the tray and let dry.

10. Clean the brayer and inking surface with water; dry with paper towels. Repeat the printing process for each of the other two colors.

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Figure A shows all the areas to be printed in black ink, including the outlines for facial features, clothing, and hair ribbons. All other areas on this styrofoam tray should be pressed down so that they will not be inked.

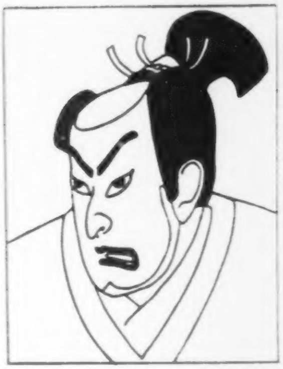

Figure A

Figure B shows all the areas to be printed in blue ink. All other areas on this styrofoam tray should be pressed down.

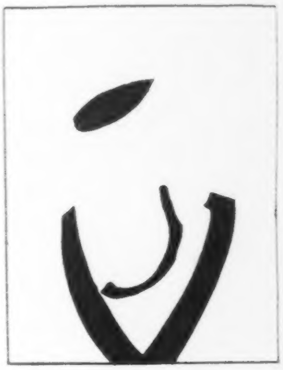

Figure B

Figure C shows all the areas to be printed in red ink. All other areas on this styrofoam tray should be pressed down.

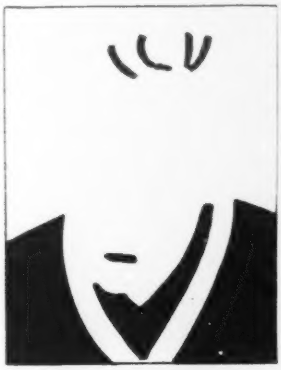

Figure C

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7

Haikai: Poetry and Social Change in Tokugawa Japan

Introduction: During the Tokugawa period, a new form of linked-verse poetry emerged that found wide acceptance among the vibrant and increasingly wealthy merchant class of urban Japan. *Haikai*, which borrowed from the existing linked-verse tradition called *renga*, was innovative in its use of common, informal language and descriptions of everyday events. Because of its earthiness, haikai appealed to ordinary townspeople in the Tokugawa period. In this lesson, students develop a historical understanding of Japanese poetry, read examples of haikai, and form poetry circles to create their own haikai. Through the lesson, students also consider ways in which the characteristics of a changing society were reflected in art.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Discuss the historical development of Japanese linked poetry.

2. Analyze the structure and subject matter of haikai poetry.

3. Write poetry in the form of haikai.

4. Synthesize their understanding of the changing social class structure in the Tokugawa period.

Time required: 1 class period, plus additional time to write poetry

Materials: Handouts 7A through 7C; Slide 6F from Lesson 6 of this unit

Procedure:

1. Introduce the activity by asking students if they are familiar with Japanese *haiku* poetry. Ask volunteers to share what they know. Discuss with students the haiku form: it is a three-line poem of 17 syllables in lines of 5, 7, and 5 syllables each. The following is just one example:

> The bush Warbler—oh,
> his perchings on the plum tree
> started long ago!

2. Tell students that they will be learning about poetic precursors to haiku. Explain that Japanese linked-verse poetry is written by more than one poet, with each poet, in turn,

adding his or her own lines of verse to a single poem.

3. Distribute Handouts 7A and 7B. As they read Handout 7A, direct students to record information about *waka*, an early form of Japanese poetry written by the aristocratic elite, renga, and haikai in the retrieval chart. Ask student to think about and answer the questions for discussion at the end of the reading.

4. Following the reading, ask students to report their findings about the three types of poetry. Sample answers are provided in the answer key for this lesson on page 121.

5. Discuss with students the two discussion questions in Handout 7A. *For the first question, students should be able to compare haikai to ukiyo-e woodblock prints in their subject matter and appeal for the merchant class. For the second question, students should recognize that the rise of haikai coincides with the rise of the merchant class; the merchants became new art patrons for haikai and ukiyo-e, displacing the aristocratic elite as the primary patrons of art.*

6. Tell students that some poets still write poetry in the haikai style. Give students Handout 7C and read the poems aloud. Discuss with students whether these poems qualify as haikai. Do they fit the form and subject matter of earlier Japanese haikai? If so, how so? *Students should note that while the poems are not in strict 5-7-5, 7-7 format, they, like haikai, use everyday language and subject matter, and are written in linked-verse style.*

7. Tell students they will be writing poetry in the style of haikai. To prepare for writing, post the words winter, spring, summer, and fall on the board and ask students to brainstorm words which evoke or describe each of the four seasons. Examples might include the following:

WINTER	SPRING	SUMMER	FALL
snow	*blossoms*	*sun*	*leaves*
cold	*rain*	*heat*	*wind*
chill	*warmth*	*grass*	*gold*
New Year's Day	*growth*	*mosquito*	*Halloween*

8. Ask students to form a poetry circle—a group of three to four students. Have each group choose the season around which they would like their poem to be loosely centered. Let students know that they should include "season" words; they can include everyday experiences and language in their poems. Students should try to write in the form of a haikai poem; however, adhering to the strict number of syllables in English can be difficult. Rather, students should strive for poems which resemble haikai.

In their poetry circle, the first writer should begin the poem with a stanza of three lines, in roughly a 5-7-5 syllable format. The second writer should add two lines of roughly 7 syllables each which respond to the first stanza. The third writer adds three new lines (5-7-5), which are followed by two lines of roughly 7 syllables each. Have each student in the group start a poem, then pass it on to the next person in the circle. A standard haikai poem consists of 36 stanzas which are interrelated in subject matter; students may experiment with the length and subjects of their poems. They may want to continue adding to their poems over several days or even weeks.

9. When students are finished writing, ask them to post their poems, read them aloud in their poetry circle, or "publish" them in a class collection of haikai poetry.

10. The following activity can be used as an evaluation of learning in this lesson. Show students Slide 6F from Lesson 6, asking them to write a haikai sequence based on their response to this image. Students may share their poems aloud in small groups or for the class. Debrief this writing activity by asking students to articulate, either orally or in writing, how Hokusai's woodblock print and haikai poetry reflect both the spirit of social change and the spirit of popular culture in the Tokugawa period. *Students should be able to describe both the print and haikai as art forms that expressed and described the activity and vibrancy of ordinary townspeople in the Tokugawa period. Woodblock prints documented the everyday activities of urban society; in haikai poetry, ordinary people expressed their thoughts and feelings using the language of everyday life.*

Additional Resources:

Bashō, *The Narrow Road to the Deep North and Other Travel Sketches.* Translated by Nobuyuki Yuasa. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1966.

Harold G. Henderson, *An Introduction to Haiku.* New York: Doubleday, 1958.

Satō Hiroaki, *One Hundred Frogs: From Renga to Haiku to English.* New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1983.

Earl Miner, *An Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968.

Earl Miner, *Japanese Linked Poetry.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Ryusaku Tsunoda, et al., *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume I.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Answer Key for Lesson 7

Handout 7B:

Waka to Haikai Retrieval Chart

	Describe poetic structure (syllables, lines)	Describe vocabulary and subject matter	Written by/for/when
Waka	*31 syllables* *5-7-5, 7-7 format*	*formal language* *emotions and nature as subject matter*	*aristocratic elite* *developed prior to the 12th century*
Renga	*100 stanzas in length; based on waka form of 5-7-5, 7-7 syllables*	*formal language* *seasons, nature, and love as subjects*	*began as "low art" written by all classes for enjoyment of all* *became "high art" as rules developed* *developed in the 12th century*
Haikai	*36 stanzas in length; based on waka form*	*common speech* *subject matter drawn from everyday life*	*written by all classes for the enjoyment of all* *patronized by merchant class* *developed in the Tokugawa period*

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Japanese Poetry: From Waka to Haikai

Many Westerners are familiar with the Japanese poetry known as *haiku*. Haiku, which came into existence as a distinct poetic form relatively recently (in the 19th century), developed out of a poetic tradition that spans many centuries.[1] Haiku poems are short—they consist of 17 syllables—and often express the poet's feelings about the changing season, aspects of nature, or love. Haiku traces its origin back to early *waka*, or court poetry, and to the linked-verse poetic forms *renga* and *haikai*.

Waka

Long before haiku became a distinct form of poetry, Japanese courtiers had established an elegant form of poetry called waka. Waka consisted of 31 syllables, divided into lines of 5, 7, and 5 syllables, followed by two lines of 7 syllables each. Generally written by the aristocratic elite, waka relied upon specific rules and formal language to express emotion and offer refined descriptions of nature. Waka was an art form created by the elite for the elite; it is often called "court poetry." The following poem, written in the late 12th century, is an example of waka. While the Japanese version on the left follows the syllable requirements for waka described above, the English translation does not. It is difficult to translate Japanese poetry into English and retain both the original form and meaning. (Note that in the last line, "Aki no yūgure," the yū is counted as two syllables because the ū is lengthened.)

Sabishisa wa (5)	Loneliness—
Sono iro to shi mo (7)	The essential color of a beauty
Nakarikeri (5)	Not to be defined:
Maki tatsu yama mo (7)	Over the dark evergreens, the dusk
Aki no yūgure. (7)	That gathers on far autumn hills.[2]

Renga

In the 12th century, a new form of poetry based on waka's 31-syllable form began to be practiced by courtiers. The new form, renga, involved linking stanzas written by more than one poet to form a longer poem. The first poet would write the first 17 syllables (5, 7, 5); the next poet would "cap" the poem by adding two more lines of 7 syllables each. The following stanzas are the opening lines of a longer renga poem, written in 1563.

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[1] Scholars of Japanese poetry disagree over the exact date when haiku emerged as a distinct form. In *An Introduction to Haiku*, Harold Henderson states that the seeds of haiku were sown over 700 years ago (New York: Doubleday, 1958, p. 1).

[2] Earl Miner, *An Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968, p. 17.

Semete sa wa (5)	Above all else I long
wasuregatami no (7)	never to forget for his keepsake
hana mo gana (5)	the flowers lately past
tsumu ni sumire no (7)	in being picked the violets
tsuyu moroki sode (7)	weaken my sleeve with fragile dew[5]

Renga poets would sometimes work together in a circle; at other times, one poet would send the first lines of a poem to another poet to add new lines. A renga poem was 100 stanzas in length. What began as a form of entertainment at court soon spread to the provinces by traveling priests and nobles. Commoners caught the excitement and formed poetry circles to write renga.

Although renga began as a frivolous entertainment, it developed into an art form with highly complex rules. Serious, standard renga poetry developed that had conventions as strict and formalized as those of waka. Only certain subject matter was deemed appropriate for renga poetry, and this was the same narrow subject matter of waka: the seasons, nature, and love. Renga began as a "low art," a break with the rigidly formal waka tradition, yet hardened into a "high art" with rules, standards, and restricted vocabulary.

Haikai

During the Tokugawa period, when the arts of war were not being practiced, the arts of peace—woodblock printmaking, drama, and poetry—flourished. In the cities and rural villages of Japan, the merchant class became new patrons of the arts. A change in linked-verse poetry coincided with the rise of the merchant class in the Tokugawa period. Popularized by the great Japanese poet Bashō (1644-1694), the new linked-verse form, haikai, used words and ideas from common speech and life, frequently capturing the humor of daily living. Haikai, which means "comic" or "light-hearted," was immediately popular with poets tired of the stale vocabulary and images of renga. Haikai was well-liked by the exuberant merchant class, which had also embraced the ukiyo-e woodblock art depicting scenes of everyday life in the growing business and pleasure districts. The shift in popularity from renga to haikai poetry reflects the shift in cultural supremacy from the court and samurai to the emerging merchant class.

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[5] Earl Miner, *Japanese Linked Poetry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979, p. 54.

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Bashō, who was born into the samurai class, renounced his privileges as a samurai when he became a haikai master. He lived out his life as a commoner, traveling throughout Japan to promote and teach haikai. Wherever he went, Bashō found amateur poets of all social classes who begged him to join them in making a chain of linked verse in the haikai style.

Haikai, like renga, continued to rely upon the waka format of 31 syllables, with one poet writing the first 17 syllables, followed by a second poet writing the next 14, and so on, to form 36 stanzas of linked verse. Yet haikai's originality of language and subject matter, its freshness and vigor, could make the ordinary event or observation seem extraordinary. An example of a commonplace event in haikai poetry comes from a 36 stanza sequence by Bashō and another poet. The first poet introduces the moon; Bashō adds a stanza about another member of the household on the same autumn night:

Kosokoso to	Stealthily stealthily
waraji o tsukuru	he plaits straw into sandals
tsukiyo sashi —	in bright moonlight —
—nomi o furui ni	—and shaking fleas from the bedcovers
okishi hatsuaki	she wakes to early autumn[4]

Eventually haikai, like renga, developed from its humble origins as "low art" into a formalized poetic form. A haikai code emerged, yet haikai retained its use of informal language and subjects drawn from the ordinary world. Like ukiyo-e woodblock prints, haikai opened art to less restricted subject matter and aimed to provide pleasure and amusement for its audience. Later, as the linked-verse tradition gradually died out among Japanese poets, haiku emerged. Haiku poetry uses the first 5-7-5 stanza of a haikai sequence to form a poem which stands alone. Though the popularity of haikai has faded, some poets today still gather to write linked verse—in Japanese and in English.

Questions for Discussion

1. How is haikai poetry similar to other art forms in the Tokugawa period?

2. How does the rise of haikai poetry reflect changes in society during the Tokugawa period?

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[4] Earl Miner, *Japanese Linked Poetry*, p. 122.

Handout 7B
Page 1 of 1

Waka to Haikai
Retrieval Chart

	Describe poetic structure (syllables, lines)	Describe vocabulary and subject matter	Written by/for/when
Waka			
Renga			
Haikai			

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Handout 7C
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Contemporary Poetry: Is it Haikai?

Excerpt from *The Split Moon*
by William J. Higginson, Michael McClintock, and Elizabeth Searle Lamb[1]

the pup whines quietly, tongue frozen to the axe-blade	Higginson
the whiteness of it: this first snowdrop	Lamb
the arguing diminishes to a small point out in the wind	McClintock
a blue balloon escaping the five fingers lifts	Lamb

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[1] Satō Hiroaki, *One Hundred Frogs: From Renga to Haiku to English*. New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1983, p. 181. Reprinted with permission.

Handout 7C
Page 2 of 2

Excerpt from *As the Fog Thickens*, by Satō Hiroaki, Geraldine Little, and Marlene Wills; New York, New Jersey, and Tennessee; from October 1980 to June 1981.[2]

As the fog thickens
the mother goes on reading,
her two children playing in the waves — Satō

over the sand castle,
blue voices of gulls — Little

that song again of Bessie's
a neighbor wants to buy
the dying elm — Wills

eating noodles & thinking
"Let me weep for once" — Satō

on the table
the candle sputters out—
who's playing Bach — Little

alone late night breath—
ing of the wood stove — Wills

is this glow of love
I feel when separated
a false sentiment — Satō

the songs of waking birds
and wind through leafless trees — Little

the short day
letting the cat out
letting the cat in — Wills

and he: "in and out
and back to work" — Satō

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[2] Satō Hiroaki, *One Hundred Frogs: From Renga to Haiku to English*. New York: Weatherhill, Inc. 1983, p. 195. Reprinted with permission.

8

A Samurai in Late Tokugawa Japan

Introduction: By the end of the Tokugawa period, the government's rigid social structure no longer matched the reality of Japanese society as wealth accumulated in Japan's growing urban centers. Samurai who did not find work as government officials, teachers, or in other professions appropriate to their high official status found that maintaining their upper-class way of life became increasingly difficult.

In this activity, students read excerpts from the autobiography of a displaced samurai during the late decades of the Tokugawa period (1800-1850). Through his story, students extend their understanding of social change during the Tokugawa period.

Objectives: At the conclusion of this activity, students will be able to:

1. Synthesize their knowledge of social and economic changes in the Tokugawa period.

2. Analyze literature as a reflection and record of social change in Tokugawa Japan.

3. Create a fictional account of life in late Tokugawa Japan.

Materials: Handout 8A

Time required: 1-2 class periods plus homework

Procedure:

1. Begin the lesson by asking students to recall what they have learned about the social class structure in Tokugawa Japan, including the official hierarchy mandated by the Tokugawa regime and the unofficial economic class arrangement that developed during the period. *Students should be able to recall the official class structure that placed samurai at the top of the feudal system followed in descending order by farmers, artisans, and merchants. During the Tokugawa period, the economic reality behind this social order changed as samurai declined in wealth and merchants became prosperous. While samurai were still officially upper class, merchants held true economic power.* Remind students that some samurai found work as government officials and teachers, while others, especially the less skilled and uneducated, were jobless.

2. Ask students to recall the official duties and obligations of members of the samurai class. What were the guiding principles of samurai behavior and conduct in the Tokugawa period? Record student answers on the board. *Students should be able to recall*

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the Confucian ideals that guided samurai behavior: Samurai were to lead frugal and simple lives; they were to be obedient and dutiful to their superiors (daimyō and the shōgun); they were to act as exemplars of moral conduct.

3. Based on information from previous lessons, ask students to describe the meaning of the word ukiyo, and write their definitions on the board. *Students should be able to define ukiyo as the "floating world" of urban entertainment districts, where townspeople lived for the moment and for pleasure, forgetting about the duties and cares of everyday life.*

4. As an introduction to the reading, ask students to consider whether the concept of ukiyo is in conflict or in accord with the duties and obligations of a samurai in the Tokugawa period.

5. Distribute Handout 8A. Have students read the story in pairs or groups of four. As students read, direct them to look for examples of conflict in Katsu's character. Ask half of each group to look for evidence that Katsu's life and actions reflect the ideals of the samurai class; ask the other half to look for evidence that Katsu's life reflects social and economic changes in the Tokugawa period. Students should record examples as they read the story. Suggested examples include:

Katsu's life reflects the ideals of the samurai class:	***Katsu's life reflects social and economic changes in the Tokugawa period:***
• *Katsu aspired to an official government post during his father's lifetime*	• *Katsu couldn't find official employment; he sold swords for a living*
• *Katsu maintained a sense of duty and obligation to his landlord's family even though it caused him financial ruin*	• *Katsu was successful as a sword salesman*
• *Katsu maintained a semblance of power and influence even in his days of dissolute living*	• *In later life, Katsu lived for pleasure, spending his time and money in the Yoshiwara district*

6. When students have completed the reading, ask each group to discuss their findings. Then lead a class discussion on the following questions: Does Katsu uphold the values and ideals of the samurai class? How? Does Katsu's life reflect social and economic changes in Tokugawa society? How or why? Is it possible to live up to the ideals of the samurai class and also engage in the pleasures of the "floating world?"

7. As an application activity, students may write a short story or fictional diary account of a merchant or artisan whose life reflects social and economic changes in the late Tokugawa period. In their stories, students should include the subject's reactions to changes in the social structure by the end of the period, and the subject's relationship to members of other social classes, especially the samurai.

Handout 8A
Page 1 of 8

The Autobiography of a Tokugawa Samurai

by Katsu Kokichi

INTRODUCTION

Katsu Kokichi was a samurai of the Tokugawa period (1600-1867). He was born in 1802 and died in 1850, three years before Commodore Perry's ships first arrived in Japan. In 1843, several years after he ceded the family headship to his son, Katsu wrote an autobiography, [the title of which has been translated as] *Musui's Story*.

Musui's Story is a unique document—the autobiography of a samurai who was neither a scholar nor an administrator, and certainly not a model of feudal loyalty. It is the life account of a shogunal vassal of low rank who lived on the fringes of proper samurai society and made his way among the lower-class townsmen of Edo (now Tokyo). As a youth Katsu twice ran away from home, traveling the great trunk road between Edo and Kyoto. Unable to find official employment in his adult years, he bought and sold swords. He frequented the pleasure quarters. He brawled in the streets. He lied and stole. . . . And yet his brothers were officials of status and repute, and his only son rose to become a commander of all the shōgun's armies on the eve of the Meiji Restoration.

Family

Katsu was born the third son of the Otani, a samurai house with a rank-stipend of one hundred *koku* of rice (one *koku* is slightly less than five bushels). In 1808, at the age of six, he was adopted into the Katsu house with the understanding that he would eventually marry the Katsu daughter. Adoption was a common practice among samurai in Tokugawa Japan: it provided a living for second and third sons who would not inherit the rank-stipend from their father, and it provided a necessary male heir for families without sons, thereby perpetuating the family name and hereditary income as retainers.

Rank

The reader of Katsu's work may be puzzled by the repeated protestations of his honorable status as a bannerman of the shōgun and the manifest indications of his lowly

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Excerpted from: *Musui's Story: The Autobiography of a Tokugawa Samurai*, by Katsu Kokichi. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by Teruko Craig. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988. Reprinted with permission.

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estate and borderline poverty. A consideration of the ranks and perquisites of samurai retainers may help explain Katsu's position in Tokugawa society.

Three classes of vassals served the Tokugawa shōgun: daimyō, bannermen, and housemen. Daimyō had domains of ten thousand *koku* or more and were independent lords in their own right. By 1800 there were about 270 daimyō. Of these, house daimyō staffed the highest offices of the shogunate. Bannermen had fiefs and stipends of less than ten thousand but usually more than one hundred *koku*. They were the samurai elite who served in the upper-middle-level and middle-level posts in the shogunate. There were about six thousand bannermen. Both higher-ranking bannermen and daimyō had vassals of their own. Housemen numbered about twenty thousand, held lower stipends, did not have the right of audience with the shōgun, and were eligible mostly for low-ranking posts. Samurai as a whole made up about 6 percent of Japan's population.

The simple fact of the matter was that in Tokugawa Japan there were more samurai than official and military posts. The shogunate instituted monthly, daily, and half-day shifts, but even then there were not enough jobs to go around. By as early as 1705 almost a quarter of the vassals of the shōgun were jobless. The best-qualified were taken for posts appropriate to their rank, and the rest—including the young, the old, the sick, and the incompetent—were left idle. To handle its unemployed retainers, the shogunate set up two labor pools: the *yorigumi* for those with fiefs and stipends of more than three thousand *koku* and the larger *kobushingumi* for those with less.

During Katsu's lifetime, the *kobushingumi* was divided into eight subunits, each headed by a commissioner and an assistant commissioner who were assisted by four or five clerks or agents. The commissioner was responsible for the behavior of those in his charge. He made recommendations whenever government posts became vacant, and it was to his residence that *kobushin* aspirants to posts reported on the sixth, nineteenth, and twenty-fourth days of each month. On these occasions (called *aitai* or *ōtai*) they also submitted requests to marry, adopt an heir, retire, or make other changes affecting their life as retainers. The especially zealous lined up every morning at the front entrance of the commissioner's residence to see him off to work or presented themselves at the residence of the assistant commissioner on the fourteenth and the last days of each month.

A samurai fortunate enough to be recommended for a post was thoroughly investigated by shogunate inspectors. His domestic situation, his finances, his literary and military talents, and his deportment and that of his retainers were all looked into. If he passed muster, he received a summons to report to Edo Castle on a designated day. This was a joyous occasion, for a posting not only brought honor to his house but an office salary to supplement his rank-stipend. A number of *kobushin*, nevertheless, declined appointment, to avoid the high cost of office attire and of gifts due to superiors.

Many *kobushin* were never recommended. That was Katsu's lot. It is not surprising, considering that he was of a reckless disposition and illiterate until his early twenties. Katsu aspired to an official post while his father lived, but after Heizō's death in 1827, he resigned himself to the shameful condition of permanent unemployment.

Katsu was not alone in this regard. Families were known to remain in the *kobushingumi* for generations. Settling in Honjō, Fukagawa, Koishikawa, and other tradesmen's districts of Edo, they supplemented their meager stipends by making toys, lanterns, and umbrellas or by working as carpenters, plasterers, and gatekeepers. Almost all were deeply in debt and had long since parted with their best kimono and swords. . . Little wonder that *kobushin* samurai were known for their loose behavior and "utter disregard of the law."

MUSUI'S STORY

Childhood

. . . When I was twelve, my brother Hikoshirō arranged for me to begin school. He took me to the shogunate academy in Yushima. I began by studying the Chinese classic, the *Greater Learning*, with Hoki Minokichi and Sano Gunzaemon, officials in charge of the school dormitory. I hated studying, and every day slipped out through the fence and into the Sakura riding ground, where I spent hours riding. At most I learned to read five or six pages of the *Greater Learning*. The two teachers soon sent word that they didn't want me, which suited me just fine.

I did nothing but ride, and with my money all gone, I began stealing from my mother's pin money and the cash she had set aside for emergencies. My brother was away in Shinano at the time on a five-year assignment as district administrator. In his third year he came back to Edo for an audience with the shōgun. When he heard that I was spending all my time and money on riding, he ordered me to give up lessons and sent a letter to my teacher giving notice. He also scolded me severely and told me to stay at home. For a while I couldn't leave the house, and what a pain that was.

The following autumn—I was thirteen—my brother returned to Shinano. I was once more free to roam and loaf about as I liked.

My grandmother was as mean as ever. She only had to see my face and she would start berating me about this or that. In desperation I went to my brother's wife for advice. She took pity on me and promised to speak to my father. One day he said to my grandmother, "Kokichi is growing up. With his low stipend, if he doesn't know how to cook, he won't be able to manage in the future. From now on, why don't you let him cook for himself?"

My grandmother took this as an excuse to do absolutely nothing for me and left me to prepare all my meals. At the same time, she kept thinking up ways to make my life as wretched as possible—I once found that she had even diluted my soy sauce with water. If anyone gave us cakes or other delicacies, she would hide them and give me none. But if she so much as sewed a kimono for me, she would announce it to the whole world, telling everyone in the same breath what an ungrateful child I was. She made me furious. Worse still, I couldn't complain to my father, since he would only rebuke me. I can't remember ever having been so miserable.

Adult Years

. . . My new landlord, Okano Magoichirō, was a rake and a spendthrift. He owed seventeen *ryō* to a teahouse in the Yoshiwara (Edo's pleasure quarters), and unable to pay, was being threatened with a law suit. No one was willing to help him out, though, since this sort of thing happened all the time. He came to see me. I had just moved in and in my ignorance got together some cash for him.

Okano got into debt again, having obtained seventy *ryō* at 5 percent interest a month to buy a prostitute out of her contract.[1] The trouble was, as security he had handed over the ledger recording the payment of rice taxes by his fiefs. The retainers at home and on his fiefs came to me for advice. I got back the document by putting up as security swords and other goods that had been consigned to me. My landlord, however, made no move to help me get my goods back. I eventually retrieved them one by one, but from then on I was always hard-pressed for cash, and with all my social obligations it was an awful nuisance.

For a while I managed to survive by selling what I had left, but I soon ran out of goods and was forced to sell my own possessions. I hated parting with them—I'd collected them painstakingly over the years—but what else was I to do? I sold off every single item—and at half of the original cost. In the end I was hard put to fork out four pennies. And this entirely because of my landlord.

Okano's wife came to see me secretly one evening. She said, "Magoichirō's loose behavior is causing difficulties for everyone in the family. Katsu-san, could you talk to this commissioner and get him to order Magoichirō into retirement?" I went to talk to the commissioner's agent. "We will first need a written statement about Okano's conduct from his wife," he said. I got one from her and presented it to Nagasaka San'uemon, who then discussed the matter with Nagai Gouemon, the commissioner of Okano's unit. Soon after, Okano received orders to retire. There was nothing he could do about it, really.

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[1] The officially permitted rate was 1¼ percent a month.

Okano's heir, also called Magoichirō, was fourteen at the time. I did everything for him, even taking him to Edo Castle for his formal installation as head of the family. His father by then had taken the name Gōsetsu and become a lay priest.

The Okano family affairs were still in a mess, however. I took charge, telling the retainers how to go about settling accounts, and succeeded in putting the family finances into shape. Then Gōsetsu began acting up again. He hired a man called Iwase Ken'uemon and by devious means obtained for him twenty *ryō* in cash and a stipend of twenty-two and a half bales of rice. His family once more came to me for help. I brought the matter to the attention of Commissioner Nagai Gouemon, and Ken'uemon was duly fired and replaced. . . .

Young Magoichirō's mother died, and Gōsetsu took the opportunity to cook up some more schemes. I had to settle these, too, and later when he bought a prostitute out of her contract and moved her in, I had to find a separate residence in Yanagishima.

A year went by. Gōsetsu became seriously ill, and as usual I took care of him. He called me to his bedside one day. "I don't think I'm going to pull through," he said. "Would you please look after my son? At least don't abandon him until you've found him a wife and made sure he has a government post." When I gave him my word, he looked very happy. He died the next day.

Again I had to take over and set things in order. But finding a wife for young Magoichirō was proving to be difficult—the mere mention of the name Okano would put off most parents. I finally had to settle for the daughter of Itō Gonnosuke in Ichibei-chō in Azabu.

Magoichirō's mother had said all along that anyone who married her son wouldn't need to bring a dowry. I bargained with Gonnosuke anyway and got him to agree to one hundred *ryō* in cash and a set of household furnishings suitable to a family of Okano's rank and station. When word of this got around, everyone—not least the peasants on his fiefs—was astounded. "Here we've been trying for two or three years to find a bride for the young master," they said. "But all we had to do was to say 'Okano,' and people would break off negotiations. Now thanks to you, Katsu-sama,[2] every one of us, not to mention the young master himself, can breathe a sigh of relief. And a dowry, too! We are most grateful."

The Okano family stipend was fifteen hundred *koku*, but for some reason Magoichirō owned not one piece of weaponry. Even to report to his commissioner, he had to borrow a pair of swords each time. Small wonder that no parent wanted to give him a daughter. His house was in a shambles, too. So I summoned the peasants on his fiefs in Musashi and Sagami and over five or six days persuaded them to put up four hundred *ryō*. I had the house repaired and bought personal effects for the numerous household dependents. I also had a house built on the property for his uncle Sennosuke, a lay priest, and procured a concubine for him. The members of the family talked as though I were a god. On top of all this I had the living expenses provided by his fiefs raised from two hundred *ryō* to three hundred, saw to it that his men were assured of a year's stipend so they could take various lessons, and even obtained a horse for his use. It was, I knew, a bit extravagant for a family with a stipend of fifteen hundred *koku* and an outstanding debt of five thousand *ryō*. But since when have fools been known to deny themselves?

Meanwhile I was getting poorer and poorer. With nowhere to turn, I decided to throw myself on the mercy of the goddess Myōken and beg her to save me from my poverty. I undertook a Hundred Days Pilgrimage, performing cold water ablutions three times a day, eating sparingly, and, praying with all my heart, eighty or ninety days went by.

While this was happening, it seems that my friends in Shitaya had gotten together and wondered why I hadn't shown up in the neighborhood for such a long time. When they heard from my man Kobayashi that I was down on my luck, they discussed what they could do to repay me for past favors. They hit on the idea of forming a savings association and inviting me to be a non-paying member, but they thought I would refuse if it were put to me that way and decided instead to ask me to head the association. In any event, Suzuki Shinjirō, a student of Inoue Denbei, came to the house one day.

"Katsu-san, my friends and I are forming a savings association to go on pleasure trips. Most of the work has been done, and we'd be honored if you would serve as the head."

"That's very kind of you, but I will have to decline. You see, I can barely make ends meet, let alone join your group."

"It will fall apart if you don't join—"

"Yes, but I can't even put up the initial payment."

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[2] Sama is a suffix of respect translated as "most honorable."

"That's all right with us."

I agreed to join and sent him on his way.

Suzuki returned in two or three days. He set down a big ledger, and placing five *ryō* on the cover, he said, "This is for you. And from now on whenever any business comes up, a member of the association will come by."

Once again Myōken-sama had answered my prayers. I went back immediately to my sword business. At the end of the month I made eleven *ryō* selling a Sukekane of Bizen sword to Matsudaira Hōki-no-kami for Matabei, a clerk at the shogunate warehouse. I got an extra five *ryō* from Matabei as a tip. Every night I went to the secondhand goods markets in Kanda and Honjō, and being a pretty sharp bargainer, I soon set aside a tidy sum.

Many of the friends I'd helped in times of trouble came to me when they had swords to sell. But since they were not knowledgeable about swords, I never had a loss. At the markets I made a practice of spending half of the profits to treat my fellow dealers to buckwheat noodles or occasionally, sake. They addressed me as "Lord and Master" and secretly alerted me beforehand if they heard of a customer coming with a piece of goods.

At the auction market, if I guessed wrong and put in a written bid of fifteen silver *momme* for something worth only three *momme*, the auctioneer would take out my slip of paper from under the straw hat and say, "For Katsu-sama, it's three and a half *momme*," and let me off with a loss of only half a *momme*. To make up for this, though, even if there were as many as fifty people, I treated everyone to buckwheat noodles after the markets closed down. The tradesmen—always ready to bicker over a single penny—so appreciated my generosity that they ordered special cushions for me to use at the markets.

My friends were envious. "How is it that the tradesmen fall all over themselves for you?" they asked. When I told them what I did, they said, "That's no way to make money." But make money I did—and plenty of it. My stipend was forty bales and I had a debt of over 350 gold *ryō*. Each time I made a profit, I paid back a small amount—no greater than the cost of a visit to a brothel—and within two and a half years, my debts had dwindled to thirty or forty *ryō*. It was simply amazing. . . .

For the last three or four years I had fallen into dissolute ways and been spending most of my time in the Yoshiwara.[3] So much so that the roughnecks who prowled through the quarters had become my underlings, and no one dared defy me. Naturally, this took huge amounts of money, but I was determined not to fall into debt, and so I hustled every night at the markets. I just barely stayed ahead.

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[3] An entertainment district of Edo.

One day in the summer I was summoned to my brother's house in Kamezawa-chō. Before leaving I gave my wife instructions concerning the children and the house. At my brother's house everyone was in tears. His wife took me to Shintarō's room and said, "Kokichi, why do you persist in behaving so recklessly? Your brother had made inquiries about you here and there, and worried that you might do something truly dreadful, he's decided to lock you up in a cage. Shintarō and the rest of us tried to talk him out of it, but he wouldn't listen. The cage was finished yesterday—it's in the garden—and your brother was ready to throw you in last night. Shintarō persuaded him not to, but I really don't know what to do. Go take a look at the cage, in any case." . . .

Life After Retirement

. . . By now the sun had set. Lanterns glowed here and there and added to the beauty of the cherry blossoms that had just come out. From our second floor window I pointed out to Tora the courtesans promenading through he narrow streets. He gazed intently at the scene below and sighed, "It certainly is a world apart."

I thought I would give him an idea of my power and influence in the Yoshiwara and took him on a complete tour. I strutted and swaggered, and when I'd decided that he had been sufficiently awed, I led him to the brothel Sanotsuchiya and asked for the best looking woman in the house. We were told that with the cherry blossoms in season the rooms were all booked, but when I let them know who was speaking, a room was opened up straightaway. We stayed until morning and parted company at Morinoshita.

Toranosuke must have been really impressed because I heard from Matsuura Kanji, a retainer in the service of Matsudaira Naiki, that he was telling everyone, "I would never have believed that anyone could get away with that kind of behavior in the Yoshiwara. I wonder how he got to be so popular?" He also was saying, "The returned Katsu will come to no harm in the Yoshiwara." [My brother] and his family were much relieved to hear this, I was told. So with nothing better to do, I spent the time amusing myself in Asakusa and the Yoshiwara. . . .

R Resources for Tokugawa Japan

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